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## *The Shape of Things*

THE THREE-POWER CONFERENCE WHICH HAS assembled at long last in Moscow is now rightly stressing the urgency of speed. Its task is to discover the most pressing needs of the Russians and to decide the channels of supply. It will then be up to Washington and London to strain themselves to the utmost to rush what is required to the eastern front. As Louis Fischer points out on another page, this country must be the main source of supply; Britain with its many responsibilities and limited capacity cannot hope to replace the Russian material used up in the past three months of intense fighting. But it may prove possible for Britain to furnish technical troops on a small scale to assist the Soviet armies. Already R. A. F. squadrons are operating successfully in Russia, and it is to be hoped that ways will be found to dispatch at least some of the tanks promised to Moscow with their own crews and maintenance formations. The momentary slackening in the German drive must not be made an excuse for any relaxation on our part. It was only to be expected after the fall of Kiev. The German General Staff never skimps its preparations, but it has shown a genius for rapid organization of communications and may well be ready to launch another full-fledged offensive in the eastern Ukraine before the cold weather sets in there. The latest reports show, however, that the Red Army has still plenty of fight left, and hopes are being expressed in London that a soft spot has been discovered in the German lines near Bryansk. If Moscow is definitely assured of strong material support from abroad, it will be encouraged to expend its own reserves in the development of a counter-offensive.

★

HITLER'S NEW ORDER IS RAPIDLY TURNING into a jungle of disunited states of emergency. The arrest of General Alois Elias, Premier in the Czech government of Emil Hacha, on charges of "treason and high treason" to the Reich and the execution of three Czech generals, the appointment of Reinhard Heydrich of the Gestapo as temporary Reich Protector of Bohemia-Moravia, and the declaration of a state of emergency in six important districts of the country are all drastic

actions. Berlin would not have taken them, and thus published to the world the resistance of the Czechs, if that resistance had not been fierce. It is rumored that Czech workers have slowed down production in armaments factories as much as 50 per cent in some cases, that peasants are burning granaries throughout the country, and that women have organized hunger marches. Meanwhile, the stories of sabotage in France increase rather than diminish despite the wholesale execution of hostages; and it is reported that the Nazis have sent several divisions, including dive bombers, to Yugoslavia to cope with thousands of guerrillas. A report from Italy, which has reoccupied the Dalmatian coast, puts the number of anti-Axis Serbs at 1,500,000! Finally, in the master's own country, Germany, several citizens have been sentenced to death or long prison terms for listening to foreign broadcasts.

★

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED States and Japan for settlement of the outstanding issues between the two countries appear to have reached a standstill. In fact, some observers doubt whether anything as formal as negotiations were ever carried on. Exploratory conversations, initiated by Japan, have undoubtedly taken place and may still be continuing, but except in Tokyo newspaper correspondents have been unable to find anyone who would admit that formal negotiations were under way. The Tokyo reports could easily be ascribed to wishful thinking if it were not for the State Department's record of appeasement. Caught in the contradictions of their policies, the Japanese are almost frantic in their desire for a settlement with the United States. But for reasons of "face" they are determined that the settlement shall be on their terms. What will happen if the United States fails to accept the terms stated in Konoye's note is still a matter of conjecture. Most observers expect the military clique to attempt some sort of coup d'état. This clique, if successful in gaining power, would presumably precipitate Japan into the war, either by an attack on Siberia or on the Dutch East Indies. If the British, as reported, are strengthening their powerful land and air forces at Singapore with units of the battle fleet, a southward push would seem too difficult to be attempted. But the threat to Siberia will remain until the early Manchurian winter makes military operations impossible.

★

THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT PREVENTED what might have developed into a dangerous military upheaval last week by prompt action in occupying all army air fields and arresting the ringleaders of the incipient conspiracy. General Angel M. Zuloaga, chief of the air force, was relieved of his command, and the head of the military aviation school at Cordoba, where

the disaffection seems to have centered, was placed under arrest. Early reports indicated that the plot was inspired by Germany and closely connected with the subversive activities recently revealed by an investigating committee of the Chamber of Deputies. These charges were seemingly contradicted by subsequent reports which suggested that the plot was primarily domestic in origin. The chances are that it was a combination of both, for nothing pleases the Nazis more than to promote an uprising which on the surface looks like a popular revolt.

★

AT THE TOLAN COMMITTEE HEARINGS IN Detroit, Representative Arnold of Illinois said that the eight or nine months lost in converting the facilities of the automobile industry to defense use "might determine whether we get in or do not get in this war." What he meant was that it might determine whether we could send aid in sufficient quantity to the British and Russians to make our own intervention unnecessary. Mr. Arnold asked R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, with what persons in Washington he had talked last fall about the Reuther plan. "Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman," was the answer, "and the President." The responsibility for the failure to give the Reuther plan—first described publicly by I. F. Stone in *The Nation* last December—a full hearing rests on them. Had a survey been made last fall of the machine-tool capacity of the automobile industry and of the defense uses to which it could be put, the industry would not have used up a huge store of vital war materials in the greatest production boom in its history and automobile workers would not now be facing unemployment. Plans would be ready to turn idle men and idle machines to defense purposes. There is still no sign of any such study by the OPM, and the failure to mobilize the automotive industry may yet prove one of the greatest blunders of the defense program.

★

WHEN ANTI-LABOR NEWSPAPERS CONTROL radio stations, the radio stations are naturally as anti-labor as their owners. Allan S. Haywood, director of organization of the C. I. O., testifying at the hearings of the Federal Communications Commission on the question of joint ownership of newspapers and radio stations, cited refusals of time and cancellation of labor broadcasts by Hearst station KYA in San Francisco, by Hearst station WISN in Milwaukee, by Hearst station WINS in New York, and by the *News* station WWJ in Detroit. Haywood said these examples demonstrate "an aggravation of the problem where newspaper-controlled stations are concerned, in the sense that hostile newspapers tend to carry over their bias into the conduct of their radio broadcasting activities; and in the further sense that any newspaper monopoly of broadcasting would tend to deprive labor unions of recourse to a competitive medium when

the columns of the press are hostile or closed to them." We heartily indorse Haywood's request that the commission investigate "the whole question of anti-labor discrimination by all radio stations," and use its power to "protect freedom of speech on the air as it affects labor."

★

REFUGEES ARE STILL COMING OUT OF Europe. In spite of the State Department regulations of July 1, quite clearly designed to bar admission to as many refugees as possible, some visas have been obtained since then, especially for persons for whom they had previously been authorized and then withheld. The effort to save the most seriously endangered democrats of Europe from fascist vengeance is not a lost cause; it is only a terribly difficult cause to fight. The American groups which have pledged themselves to this fight need money. Three weeks ago we published a moving appeal from the Emergency Rescue Committee showing the results of a year's work in bringing out of Europe some of the men and women who have loved freedom too well to submit without a fight to its extinction. This week the International Relief Association adds its plea for help in rescuing from the living death of the concentration camp at least a few political refugees. We can think of no better use for any anti-fascist's money than this; it is a part of our own fight for freedom.

★

AFTER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF LIVING IN what might be called a state of well-advertised obscurity, the Brooklyn Dodgers have finally come out on top and have won the right to oppose the lordly Yankees in the World Series. The story of how the Dodgers attained their present eminence is a homely saga only occasionally marred by sordidness. Until three years ago they were Nine Old Men mired in the lower reaches of the National League. They cultivated clowns and eccentrics. Anywhere else this sort of thing would have cost heavily in gate receipts, but in Brooklyn, which has always suffered from a kind of collective inferiority complex, it paid fairly well and cost little, since bad players can be had more reasonably than good ones. It began to pay even better, however, when one Leland Stanford MacPhail conceived the notion of continuing the under-dog tradition but at the same time winning ball games. With funds provided by the astute directors of the Brooklyn Trust Company, to which the team is now in hock, he bought up the best players available, encouraged sports writers to call them "dem bums," and then defied current practice by putting every game on the radio. This gave people all over the country a sense of identification with the Dodgers and soon they were "our bums" even on the West Coast. Whether they will continue to be so affectionately regarded if they become world champions is another question.

## Eckhardt and the State Department

TIBOR DE ECKHARDT, the traveling salesman of feudal fascism, whose career was reviewed at length in last week's *Nation*, has now launched his anticipated "Independent Hungary" movement. Declaring that "the Hungarian nation is not responsible for the policies and acts of its present government, whose decisions are obviously subject to Nazi pressure," this counterfeit democrat and former white terrorist offers himself as the leader of the Hungarians abroad, calling upon them to labor for Hungary's liberation and a post-war peace based on genuine collaboration among the small nations of the Danube. It is noteworthy that none of the well-known Hungarian democrats living in this country have indorsed this manifesto. They are not unnaturally suspicious of the sudden anti-Nazi enthusiasm of one who, barely a year ago, voted for the application of the Nürnberg laws to Hungary and has not even had the grace to repent his fascist past before advertising himself as a herald of the free future.

But if Mr. de Eckhardt has failed to impress his fellow-countrymen, he has at least sold himself successfully in Washington and to American newspapers which ought to know better. The State Department, it is true, has not given him an official blessing, but it has busied itself, and persuaded Colonel Donovan's office to do likewise, in getting him publicity. It is inconceivable that the State Department was not aware of de Eckhardt's reputation. If our legation in Budapest has been negligent in supplying information, there are plenty of men in this country willing and able to provide a full dossier. We can only conclude that it is playing its old double game: blessing democracy with its left hand while reserving its right to pat reaction on the back.

It is sad to record that two such normally well-informed newspapers as the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* should both have fallen for de Eckhardt's catchpenny eloquence. The *Herald Tribune* dignified his manifesto with an editorial indorsement, even accepted his outrageous comparison with Louis Kossuth, and either from ignorance or indulgence made no mention of his black record. In the *Times* Anne O'Hare McCormick was naive enough to applaud, as symptomatic of Europe's resistance to Hitlerism, "the proclamation of a 'Free Hungary' movement by Tibor Eckhardt in the United States and Count Karolyi in London," suggesting that these two men were acting in agreement. The fact is that Karolyi, a democrat whose twenty years' exile bears testimony to his faith, will have no truck with Eckhardt, who for the same period has backed feudal reaction in Hungary. Incidentally Washington and London have got their wires crossed on this



matter, for Karolyi's committee, while not officially recognized, must have received the green light from Downing Street.

The encouragement offered to de Eckhardt by the State Department is all the more inexcusable because less than a week before his proclamation appeared the American Federation of Democratic Hungarians met in Cleveland, with Professor Rustem Vambery—well known to readers of the *Nation*—in the chair, and approved a manifesto of their own. This document went straight to the heart of the Hungarian problem by saying:

Hungary and its oppressed people can be saved only if the Hungarian state and its antiquated structure be transformed into a modern democracy serving in reality the improvement of the Hungarian people. The first prerequisite of this is the distribution of the land accumulated by the feudal classes.

This is a vitally necessary reform which de Eckhardt, a champion of the landlords, naturally failed to mention in his proclamation. The Cleveland conference also called for "a reorganization of Central and Eastern Europe in the spirit of a democratic federation," and in this instance de Eckhardt echoed their thought. Such a reorganization can only be brought about by collaboration among all the states in the Danube region. But is it possible to ask the Czecho-Slovaks, who suffered for years from de Eckhardt's intrigues, to accept him now as a responsible democrat? Is it possible to ask the Yugoslavs to sit down with the man who defended the Hungarian accessories to the assassination of King Alexander? We wish the State Department would give thought to such questions before bestowing its patronage on plausible opportunists.

## *The New Charter and Allied Morale*

THE ultimate purposes for which a nation fights have, of course, direct bearing upon its chances of winning the fight. For its aims will not only determine the extent of the sacrifice it will make for victory—it will not make much unless the aims are seen to be vital—but also affect the strength of the enemy's resistance, which will be great if it can be persuaded by its leaders that defeat will mean revenge, oppression, disaster. Hence the importance of the indorsement last week of the Roosevelt-Churchill "Atlantic Charter" by Russia and the exiled governments of the nations overrun by the Nazis. Of no less importance was the approval by those governments, and by the United States, of an outlined plan for a pool of food and raw materials in preparation for post-war reconstruction. The two measures are re-

lated. Hitler has done his best to persuade the German people that they will be strangled economically if the Allies win, and that nothing short of Germany's conquest of its neighbors—and "neighbors" in the day of stratospheric planes means the world—can insure its protection against hostile combinations bent upon inflicting a new Versailles. The charter, and the development now being given to it, will help to debunk that theme and prove that a Germany keeping the peace would not be deprived of the means of a prosperous life for its people; that the Allies—the United States, China, Russia, Britain, and a score of lesser nations—are not fighting to impose enslavement, economic or political, upon Germany, but to prevent Germany from imposing that enslavement upon others.

The plan for a post-war food and raw-materials pool will be an encouragement to the subjugated peoples to continue their resistance, since it will offer some assurance that victory will mean not merely a lifting of the fear and terror which hang over all Gestapo-ruled regions but also sustenance for famished bodies.

But something more will be needed as an answer to those who ask: "Suppose at the risk of torture and death we resist the Nazis and help the Allies win, what afterward? Is our country—Norway, Holland, Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, France, as the case may be—to be left once more to face by itself the possible vengeance of a Germany again perhaps rearmed a decade or so hence? Are we to have no aid in our future defense? If not, then we had better submit to the Nazis now." What answer are we preparing to give?

Russia's indorsement of the charter, with its affirmation of "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live," bears upon that aspect of the post-war problem. It means in effect that if Russia's right to choose the form of government it prefers is respected, it will not only respect that right in the case of others, but do its part in defending it. War is teaching the round dozen who have signed this charter what the years of peace failed to teach them, namely, the necessity of mutual aid, of hanging together if each is not to hang separately.

Common danger has now compelled cooperation. Because Russia needs the power of the Western democracies—Britain, the United States, the dominions—for its own defense, it will not want to undermine that power. Out of a common danger a common interest has been created, and on the basis of a common interest cooperation is possible.

Unless this common desire for security is fulfilled, none of the objectives, economic or political, foreshadowed in the charter will be realizable. For if a nation's safety is made to depend, not upon the maintenance of loyal cooperation with others for mutual defense, but upon its own separate individual power, then



the most elementary motives of self-preservation will push it toward "strategic" frontiers, however much they violate the principle of self-determination, and toward economic self-sufficiency, simply because the more self-sufficient a nation is, if it has not allies, the better it is equipped for war. This means high tariffs, exchange restrictions, all the apparatus of economic nationalism; which mean in their turn difficulties and disadvantage for other nations. To insure a nation the elementary right to existence, that is to say defense from violence, is the first step toward winning its fruitful cooperation with those pledged to defend it. In no other way shall we get peace and that "better world."

## *The Tax on Profits*

SECRETARY MORGENTHAU'S suggestion that all corporation profits above 6 per cent be taken by the government appears to have caught the business lobby off its guard. Congress has just rejected a much milder excess-profits tax in the 1941 revenue bill, and it was generally supposed that the issue was settled, for the time being at least. The fact that there was no mention of the profits tax in Secretary Morgenthau's prepared statement suggests that the Treasury itself was not planning to bring up the proposal at this time. But the response to the Secretary's impromptu remarks indicates that the country—and many Congressmen—is prepared to go much farther than most observers imagined. The sudden drop in the stock market and the ill-concealed anxiety shown by conservative papers in denouncing the proposed levy revealed a defensive attitude. For though they would be the last to admit it, Wall Street spokesmen are fully aware that business got off extraordinarily lightly in the tax bill just passed.

Although personal income taxes, particularly in the low brackets, have been boosted far beyond the 1918 levels, our excess-profits taxes—even without allowance for huge loopholes for evasion—are much lower than in the first World War. And they are much lower than those now in force in Great Britain and Canada. Moreover, despite a considerable increase in taxes, big business is making huge profits out of the defense program. After all taxes had been paid, corporation profits in the heavy industries last year were 70 per cent above those of the previous year. This year many corporations have obscured their true profit figures by laying aside excessive reserves to meet taxes. But in spite of this, we find that the net profits of 360 leading companies in manufacturing, trade, mining, and service average some 20 per cent above last year's figures. Profits of the sixteen largest steel companies are 66 per cent higher than a year ago.

The arguments for the immediate imposition of an excess-profits tax along the lines suggested by Mr. Mor-

genthau may be divided into three categories: (1) ethical, (2) tactical, and (3) practical. The Secretary stressed the ethics of the matter when he pointed out that if we ask young men to serve their country for a dollar a day, it is fair to ask business to hold its profits to a reasonable 6 per cent. Quite apart from ethics, however, it might be urged that civilian and military morale demands that business accept a real share of the sacrifices necessary for defense. Many of the defense strikes have had their origin in the knowledge that employers are making huge profits out of the emergency. The public can hardly be expected to make real sacrifices until profiteering in high places has been ended.

Finally, a drastic excess-profits tax is imperative from a practical bread-and-butter point of view if the present upward price spiral is not to develop into a runaway inflation. As Mr. Morgenthau said, the battle against inflation must be fought "on all fronts." Of the various fronts none is more strategically vulnerable than that of profits. For excessive profits mean increased purchasing power in the hands of the wealthy, who will thus be enabled to outbid persons of more moderate means for a rapidly dwindling supply of consumer goods. The effect of excessive profits is also to stimulate the production of luxury articles at the expense of both defense goods and the necessities of life.

Unfortunately, these considerations are not clearly understood in Congress, and experienced observers do not expect acceptance of the Treasury's proposal at this time. But a preliminary blow has been struck at the business-as-usual clique, and it is possible that an effective tax on excess profits may yet be passed at this session of Congress.

## *Neutrality Is a Sham*

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

A LOT of people, including the President, who had a hand in the birth of the Neutrality Act are today admitting that it was all a mistake. Confession is supposed to be good for the soul of the sinner, but it has never been known to exorcise the sin. Not all the regrets in the world will wipe out the bitter shame of Spain, or reduce this nation's share of responsibility for the failure of collective security and for the successful aggressions of the dictators.

The Neutrality Act was a misbegotten child of political scheming and national schizophrenia. It was an act no balanced, adult nation could commit. Like a drunkard who gets himself committed to jail to prevent himself from visiting the neighborhood bar-and-grill, the United States deprived itself of its rights as an independent nation, its rights to sail the seas and sell its goods to whom it chose, in order to prevent itself from plunging

into the next war. Even if the object had been a wise one—and the present world crisis shows how extremely unwise it was—the method was bad.

I recall a tract widely circulated in my college days by some church society, entitled "Better Not." It described in attractive detail a long list of acts, many innocent in themselves, which should be avoided by the young if they hoped to escape a final descent into crime and degradation. Even in those days of inexperience it occurred to me that the person who could not trust himself to play a game of gin rummy probably wouldn't be able to resist the more dangerous temptations that lurked in the shadows of the future. A nation, like a person, must take its chances—acting freely according to its best judgment as contingencies arise and refusing to adopt self-denying ordinances which will hamstring its future.

The Neutrality Act has been not unlike the Prohibition Act in its effect on our national life. Both were designed to keep us out of trouble. But like most regulations, public or private, which conflict with genuine desires and interests, it was in each case the law itself that got us into trouble.

Based on fear, on refusal to accept responsibility, and on a deep-seated emotional conflict, the fruits of the neutrality law have been just what one would expect. It helped bring about democracy's first great defeat in Europe—the overthrow of the Spanish republic. By refusing arms to the Loyalist regime, under an amendment adopted specifically to prevent aid to Spain, our government both injured that struggling republic directly and put its seal of approval on the shameless trickery of "non-intervention" through which Britain and France served as tacit allies of their future enemies, Germany and Italy. Similarly, and in direct contradiction to the President's quarantine speech in 1937, the Neutrality Act threw the preponderant weight of the United States against the whole collective-security movement. In effect we told Hitler and Mussolini to go ahead with their plans, assuring them in advance that we would refuse help to the victims of their aggression. War was brewing when the act was passed—but war could have been prevented by the concerted efforts of the non-fascist states. They failed to unite against aggression, and as a result war came. It is not too much to say that the existence of the Neutrality Act helped bring it on; the refusal of Congress to lift the arms embargo in the summer of 1939, when the President asked it to, was only a last gesture of American disinterest. Congress bears a heavy burden of guilt for its stupidity, but it can properly insist that the Administration was an accessory to the crime, since the chief harm done by the act was accomplished between 1935 and 1939, when we fatally succeeded in convincing the world of our impenetrable and irresponsible isolation.

Of course the appearance was deceptive. We were a nation in conflict with ourselves. Our isolationism was sharply contested by our hatred of fascism. We could not obey an ordinance that thwarted an important set of national desires and interests; neither could we repeal it. We could only do what we did in the case of the prohibition law—circumvent and so gradually annul it. This we have accomplished by a number of stratagems which served our immediate purposes but in themselves were neither honest nor intelligent. We lifted the arms embargo after the war began, but we solemnly hedged our action about with provision for "cash on the barrel-head" and prohibitions against sending American ships or sailors into combat zones. And then we circumvented this too by tricking out our ships in Panama flags and manning them with seamen of other nationalities. The financial restrictions were wiped out at one stroke by the lend-lease bill, which, however, was itself a subterfuge since it really provided for gifts rather than honest loans or leases. Some restrictions remain: our ships are still prohibited from entering certain waters, and they may not be armed. These represent serious obstacles to our major job of conveying safely to the battle fronts our vast and increasing war production.

Today a movement to wipe out these limitations or to abolish the act altogether is rapidly gaining ground. The nation is hardening in its determination to answer with stronger action Hitler's open defiance of our policy. American ships and American men must be a part of that answer. We can no longer in decency hide behind the Panama flag and let the sailors of other nations go to the bottom in ships carrying our goods.

A year ago repeal of the Neutrality Act could not even have been discussed in Congress. Today, in spite of the threats of the extreme isolationists, it is safe to predict that the act will at least be drastically modified. It should be repealed; anything less will produce a crop of new evasions. And the most important result of outright repeal will be not the lifting of restrictions on action, necessary as these are, but the tonic effect on public opinion. The existence of the act has served to perpetuate a fiction of neutrality which has been strong enough—and Hitler has taught us the power of myths over the public mind—to make us do what we must do on the sly and with a half heart and a bad conscience. We serve the anti-Nazi cause as if it were something a little shameful, to be done under the pretense that we are doing something else. It is time to end this tricky self-deception, this unhealthy business of finding ways of evading our own law. We are no longer seriously divided on the issue of helping to defeat Hitler. To end the hypocrisy of legal neutrality will not only prove that we are, as a nation, more nearly mature and whole; it will also help produce that condition. We shall feel a lot better when we have made an honest people of ourselves.

# Making Defense Safe for Alcoa

BY I. F. STONE

## II

*Washington, September 26*

THE contract drafted by Oscar Ewing, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee and lawyer-lobbyist for the Aluminum Company of America, was signed with little change by Jesse Jones on August 17. The terms as given to the press made the contract seem a victory for the government. Alcoa would operate the new government-owned alumina and aluminum plants, but 85 per cent of the profits would go to the RFC. Alcoa would keep a modest 15 per cent as its operating fee. It was announced at the same time that Alcoa had agreed to reduce the price of aluminum ingot from 17 to 15 cents a pound. It looked as though shrewd Jesse Jones had driven another of his hard bargains.

It was not explained that the reduction in the price of ingot was a purely oral understanding, binding on Alcoa only so long as it chose to be bound thereby. It was not explained that before this oral understanding was reached the government had signed two contracts with Alcoa's Canadian Siamese twin, Aluminium, Ltd., for 700,000,000 pounds of aluminum at 17 cents a pound. One Canadian contract was signed on May 2, the other on July 15. Were Aluminium, Ltd., prepared to deliver that aluminum or any considerable part of it this year, it would be well worth the extra 2 cents. But while the cut in price goes into effect at the end of this month, deliveries under the Canadian contract do not begin until next year and continue through 1944. The 15-cent price, as long as it continues in effect, will serve to deter potential competitors in this country, while the Canadian affiliate, which need fear no competition, will continue to get 17 cents or more. The Canadian contracts contain escalator clauses permitting an increase in the price if labor, freight, or raw-material costs go up. The Canadian company will be receiving its raw material, bauxite, from Alcoa in Alcoa ships. It is not inconceivable that Alcoa might be encouraged by these escalator clauses to increase the prices it charges its Canadian alter ego for bauxite and shipping. Nor is there any clause in the Canadian contracts which would prevent Aluminium, Ltd., from buying 15-cent aluminum from Alcoa and reselling it to the United States for 17 cents. This may never happen, but Jesse Jones is rarely so trusting in the contracts he signs.

The signing of the contract was accompanied by announcement of the reduction in price to 15 cents, but the contract itself does not specify any price. The contract

provides only that the same price shall be charged for aluminum produced in the government-owned plants as for aluminum produced in Alcoa's. The peculiar system set up by the contract for pooling the operations of both types of plants and for allocating their expenses and profits is such that any price which covers the costs of the government-owned plants will yield a very wide margin of profit on Alcoa's.

The contract says that the price of aluminum is to be fixed from time to time by Alcoa and the Defense Plant Corporation, the RFC subsidiary which will hold title to the government plants. The contract contains provisions for arbitration in the event of disagreement on most matters, but the price of aluminum is specifically excepted from the arbitration clause. In practice this will mean that if Alcoa doesn't get the price it wants, the government will get no aluminum, for there is nothing in the contract which would force Alcoa to operate the plants at an unsatisfactory price or permit the government to operate them if Alcoa staged a sitdown strike. A sitdown strike will hardly be necessary. If Jesse Jones was willing to sign this contract, he is not likely to balk at giving Alcoa anything else it wants. The expenses of the government plants will be so high and their share of earnings relatively so small that the RFC will want a higher price set for aluminum in order to cover costs.

The provision for a uniform price is the heart of the contract. The high-cost government plants will be the price pacemaker for the low-cost Alcoa plants. Alcoa's plants will be obtaining low-cost bauxite from Dutch Guiana and its deposits in Arkansas. The government plants will have to bear the expense of developing newer and more costly sources of bauxite, much of it low grade. The difference in the cost of bauxite will provide the first, but not the only, extra profit margin to Alcoa under the uniform-price provision. The contract provides other profit margins for Alcoa by permitting Alcoa to overstate the expenses and understate the earnings of the government-owned plants it will operate.

The expense account is so padded as to give Alcoa large additional operating fees under the guise of expenses. All the costs of operating the government-owned plants will, of course, come out of their earnings, and as we shall see, the government will have no way of checking on most of these costs. This is like giving a reporter an expense account and telling him that most of its items will never be audited. In addition to all items which Alcoa considers operating costs, it is allowed



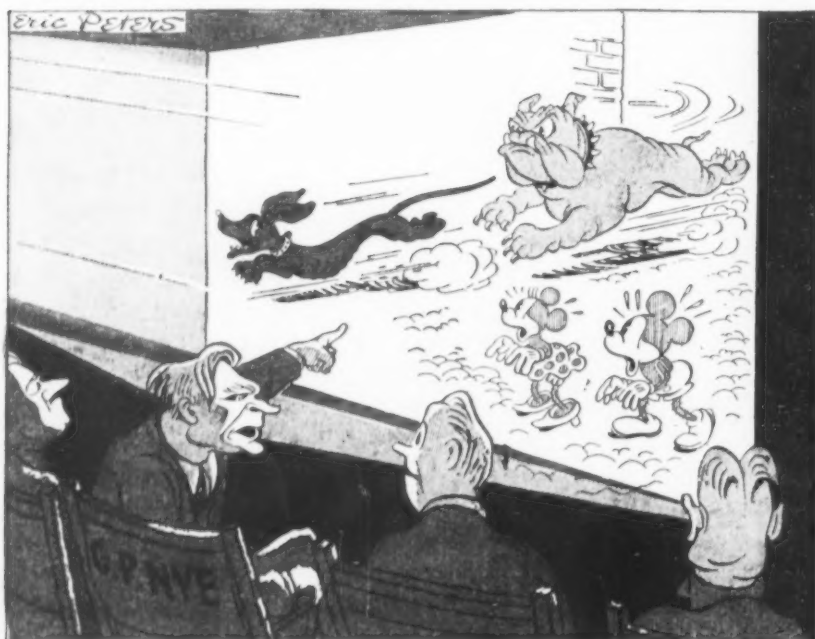
$\frac{1}{4}$  cent per pound of aluminum for expenses, salaries, and facilities used in connection with operation of the government plants, "even though part of the time of such employees and part of such facilities are also used in part in connection with Alcoa's own operations or own overhead." Jesse Jones admitted on the stand before the Truman committee that this might include part of the rent for Alcoa's office building in Pittsburgh.

On top of all ordinary expenses and these part-time expenses the contract provides that "in order to compensate Alcoa for such portion of its own overhead as cannot thus be specifically allocated to the operation of the leased plants, Alcoa may also include as an item of operating expense the sum of  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent per pound of aluminum produced in the leased plants (in which calculation two pounds of alumina will be considered the same as one pound of aluminum)." Two pounds of alumina make one pound of aluminum, and Hugh Fulton, counsel to the Truman committee, pointed out at the hearings that there was nothing in the contract to prevent Alcoa from taking both the quarter-cent and the half-cent on each two pounds of alumina and then an additional quarter-cent and half-cent on the pound of aluminum made from those same two pounds of alumina. On this basis, according to Fulton, the present contract, plus a new contract being drawn up with Alcoa for another 600,000,000 pounds of alumina capacity, would give Alcoa \$2,100,000 a year under the quarter-cent clause and another \$4,200,000 a year under the half-cent clause. Even if the quarter-cent for part-time services does not duplicate items that Alcoa will have already included in operating costs, the extra half-cent is really a disguised fee equal to a 4 per cent return on a \$100,000,000 in-

vestment. This isn't bad considering that Alcoa will not have a cent of its own money invested in these plants.

The contract does provide that Alcoa shall keep separate cost-accounting records on the operation of the government-owned plants, a point which would be taken for granted in most agreements of this kind but is regarded as quite a victory for the government in this case. But these figures can mean very little unless the government knows the comparable figures for operation of Alcoa's own plants. Otherwise it has no way of knowing whether Alcoa is dealing fairly with it. The contract gives the government the right to an annual accounting for purposes of comparison, but the only figures on the operation of its own plants which Alcoa agrees in advance to furnish are of a very limited character. They would cover merely the cost of labor and five raw materials entering into the manufacture of aluminum. These are alumina, power, cryolite, aluminum fluoride, and carbons. As for any other items of cost or expense, the contract says, "Such certified public accountant shall also report to Defense [Plant] Corporation with respect to any other facts deemed by *both* [my italics] Defense Corporation and Alcoa important and pertinent to a comparison of the operations in the leased plants with operations in other plants." This clause gives Alcoa the right to refuse any of these facts on the ground that they are not "important and pertinent." I do not think provisions of this sort would be accepted by Jesse Jones in leasing a plant of his own, or that they will encourage Alcoa to operate the government's plants with the maximum efficiency and economy.

The contract provisions for estimating revenues show Jesse Jones in as gullible a mood as do the provisions for estimating expenses. The simple way to estimate the revenues of the government plants would be to multiply their output by the price per pound received, as the simple way to operate the plants would be to have them produce aluminum and furnish it at cost to the government. This is too simple for Alcoa. The contract has an Appendix A headed "Method of Computing Profit or Loss," which is based on the elementary method of accounting known as heads I win, tails you lose. Instead of the government-owned plants being credited with their actual production, they are to be credited with their "theoretical" production. The intricate and tricky formula for arriving at this production reads as if Alcoa had called in Einstein as a consultant. I am going to simplify it; even simplified, it may make the reader bite his nails.



"See! Blatant British Propaganda."

First, the actual amount of aluminum produced in the government plants is computed, and then it is added to the actual production in Alcoa's plants. This sum is then added to the amount of "any aluminum purchased and received by Alcoa" during the year. The percentage of government production to the second sum is then applied to the first, and this provides the figure for "theoretical" production. Let us say that during the year the government plants make 100 pounds of aluminum and Alcoa's plants make 100 pounds and Alcoa buys an additional 100 pounds elsewhere for its fabricating plants. The ratio of government production to this total is one to three. The ratio of one to three applied to the 200-pound

combined production of the government and the Alcoa plants gives 66⅔ pounds. The government plants, instead of being credited with their actual production of 100 pounds, would be credited with a "theoretical" production of 66⅔ pounds. Since revenues are pooled, Alcoa would no doubt siphon off the extra gravy in those theoretically non-existent extra 33⅓ pounds.

Next week, in closing, I will show that in the rigging of this contract and in current negotiations for additional sources of aluminum Alcoa is using Jesse Jones and the OPM to safeguard its monopoly position not only at the expense of the government but at the expense of the defense program.

## Supplying the Soviets

BY LOUIS FISCHER

*London, September 28, by Cable*

**A**ID to Russia is a problem occupying the mind of the government and public to the exclusion of almost all other topics. If Russian resistance collapses, I do not see how England can win the war. I don't see how Germany can win it either, for with the help of American munitions Britain cannot be invaded, but in the absence of a German internal crack-up the loss of Russia's man-power to the Allied cause could only be made good by the arrival of a million American soldiers in Europe.

To date Britain has shipped more arms to Russia than America has, but as Britain's leading phrase and policy maker said the other day, for England to supply Russia is "like a squirrel feeding the elephant peanuts." Britain could under certain circumstances produce more, but it cannot produce enough to keep Russia going after the fall of Kharkov and Rostov.

I believe the Kharkov-Rostov line is Russia's Marne. Both cities are highly important industrial centers. Between them lies the Donetz Basin, which supplies 95 per cent of European Russia's coal. And all of Russia's railroads, most of its factories, and many electric power stations operate on coal. Rostov, moreover, is the key to Russia's only railway link with the Caucasus. If Rostov falls, Moscow cannot send reinforcements for the protection of the Soviet oil fields. For the last ten days I have been impressing upon leading Englishmen the necessity of quickly assembling a British expeditionary force to defend Baku and Grozni. Whether Stalin would relish the idea of Moslem Sikhs, Hindu Gurkas, or even Scots in the Caucasian Tower of Babel, I don't know, but if Germany gets the oil, both Russia's mechanized agriculture and Britain's blockade will be seriously crip-

pled. The statement that Wavell came here to confer on British military units for Soviet territory is now officially denied. But if he didn't he should have and maybe will.

It is generally agreed that ice-free Murmansk is not available for Allied supplies. There remain Vladivostok for American munitions and the Persian Gulf for American and British munitions. The meager communications inside Persia provide one of the most difficult obstacles, but fortunately the Persian railroad has the same gauge as English railroads. From the Soviet point of view it would be extremely advantageous if the British tanks, guns, and planes were accompanied by British crews. Britain cannot fight on the European Continent now and all advocacy of a second front there is a waste of breath, but it can sacrifice the envisioned offensive in Africa for a lightning thrust in Asia. That would also keep Turkey straight. But my God, how slow these British are! It takes them longer to make a decision than it takes Hitler to conquer a country.

The Russians need help badly. Authorities estimate Soviet casualties at three millions—of the best troops. Military experts are unrestrained in their admiration of the stamina and courage of Russian soldiers but are not so laudatory of the Red staff work: The Russians are good when making a stand, bad when they must move. But the real surprise comes from the Reichswehr's ability to launch attack after attack with apparently undiminished fury. I expect Germany to continue a fierce offensive in Russia throughout October in order to be able during the winter to reduce Russia's secondary front; then in the spring to turn on Britain with a combined peace and bomb blitz.

This raises the question of America's role in the war. I have talked with Lloyd George, who knows something

about conducting a war and making munitions, and with others who may not be quoted. They all agree that America would produce more arms if it declared war. Only a country at war will make the sacrifices necessary to enable it to turn out enough arms to defeat history's most gigantic military machine. The American public still resists a declaration of war because it does not wish to send men overseas. But if we declared war and sent all our arms overseas, we shouldn't have an army equipped to send overseas. The navy is another matter; it has al-

ready got its shooting orders. An American air force may be needed if Hitler makes a desperate attempt to invade Britain, but if America won't send an army abroad, and if it cannot be attacked while Britain stands—and I am sure it cannot—isn't it common sense to keep men in factories making weapons for Britain, Russia, and China, whose citizens no longer have a choice about dying? In an arsenal the maximum number of men should be at the lathes manufacturing arms instead of in camps learning to use them.

## Russia's Chances—Now

BY ALEXANDER KIRALFY

TO THOSE who followed the simple rules laid down in my Key to the Eastern Front in the July 5 issue of *The Nation*, the events of the past three months on the Nazi-Soviet front will have occasioned no surprises. A reapplication of those rules to the present line of battle and an amplification of certain phases which were covered in that article in a few words only should, I believe, furnish a means of gauging the value and significance of the future movements of the respective armies. The need for a Soviet large-scale offensive appears pressing, and of equal importance would be strong diversionary action on the part of the other anti-Axis powers. Despite losses and delays occasioned by the powerful Russian resistance, the Nazis have made very successful movements, and those yet to come look ominous.

These German movements have followed strictly the "triangle pattern" that was foretold. The fact that the triangles or wedges which the Germans sank into the Soviet lines became increasingly numerous and close-spaced indicated the development of the strong Russian resistance which so few observers expected. The Red Army, instead of adopting the German offensive system of fighting, has largely relied upon the method of "pinching the pincers" which had already been foreshadowed in the meager dispatches published at the end of June. While they have been extremely helpful to the Soviets, these tactics have not proved decisive. In the final analysis, attempts to attack both flanks of one prong of a two-pronged spearhead brings half of the attacking divisions under two fires—that of the prong attacked and that of the twin prong. The surrounder, in short, becomes surrounded.

As had been feared, the Red staff, rather than concentrate its forces at the first available opportunity for an independent offensive which might have automatically protected Russian territory, preferred to group them in

defensive positions. These were before the key areas of Murmansk, Leningrad, Moscow, and the Ukraine. The counter-attacks they launched do not appear to have attained the stature of a real offensive. The initiative thus passed to Hitler. As a result, the "triangle" moves proceeded in strict accordance with their clearly discernible plan, despite delays in the Nazi time-table. These advances were particularly successful against the two Soviet wedges which protruded into German-dominated territory when the war began—the Grodno and Lwow salients. They were so successful, in fact, that these Soviet "pockets" were turned completely inside out. Instead of bulging toward Germany they were forced into the opposite direction, forming the Leningrad, Smolensk, and Kiev wedges. While keeping the Russians busy about the first two, the Nazis concentrated in the third and closed the Soviet pocket to the south by pressing toward the Black Sea, an operation that gave them half the Ukraine.

Whereas the Nazis, as was emphasized in my previous article, never attacked the apex of a hostile salient, except as a feint, the Russians, as a result of their defensive attitude, conducted such unprofitable operations. It is apparent that when the point of a triangular formation of enemy-held territory is assaulted, the most to be expected is that it will be pressed back toward the base line. As each "layer" of the salient's garrison falls back, it joins the layers to the rear and thus becomes actually stronger than before the attack. And in such an operation possibilities of envelopment, with the consequent capture of men and material, drop to the vanishing-point. The outstanding example of a Soviet "point" or "apex" attack is that at Smolensk, where the German wedge was merely blunted, not severed. It is by making movements that compel an enemy to attack where he should stand firm, and to remain motionless where he should advance, that military science reaches a high de-

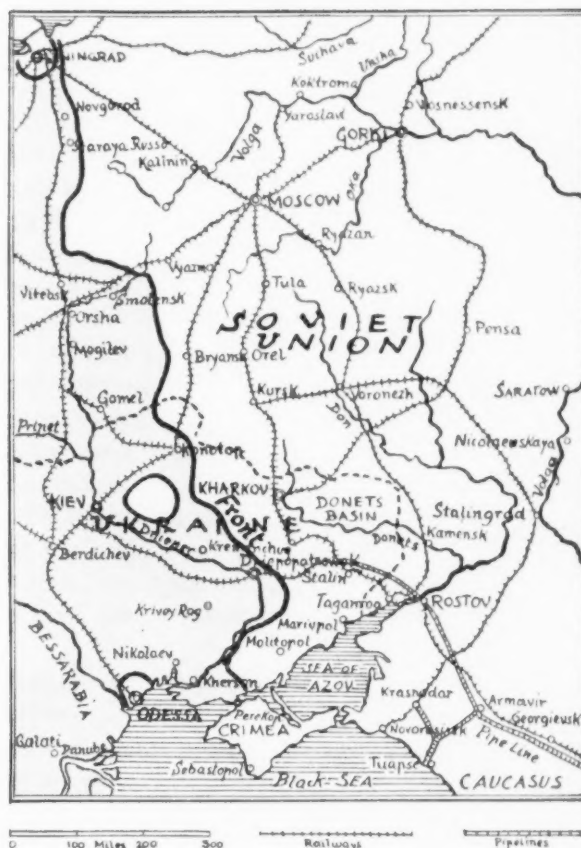


gree of perfection. And this is what the Nazis have been able to bring about. Profiting by the element of surprise and by the immeasurable power of the offensive, they placed Moscow in the position of having to gamble the loss of some vital area against an opportunity to strike a telling blow at the enemy. Unless Stalin is able to wrench the initiative from Hitler, a continuation of the simple Nazi scheme of triangle advance is to be expected.

Today the Nazi-Soviet front is an almost exact duplicate of what it was on the day the first shot was fired, except, of course, that it is nearer to Moscow. To the north of Smolensk the Russians are half encircled in the Vitebsk pocket and to the south in that of Gomel; the old Bessarabian pocket is now replaced by one along the northern shores of the Sea of Azov. A repetition of "triangle-building" by the Germans would result in the "emptying" of the Soviet Vitebsk salient so as to form a Nazi wedge touching Kalinin; a similar operation based on the Gomel pocket would bring the panzer divisions to Orel. The Red armies within the resulting Kalinin-Smolensk-Orel triangle might then be jeopardized, and the pinching of that salient would place the invaders within reach of Moscow. In fact, if the hypothetical Smolensk wedge could be punched inside out to form a counter-salient, as were the original Grodno and Lwow salients, then Moscow would become another beleaguered Odessa with the enemy tanks racing past toward the junction of the Volga and Oka rivers. A German advance of this nature would deprive Stalin of important automotive and metal-working establishments, and a further eastward march of 275 miles would bring the Nazis to Gorki, another important automobile and machine-tool center.

A number of factors, however, militate against a northern campaign at this time. While too much emphasis should not be placed upon the rigors of the Russian winter, it does add greatly to the difficulties of any military scheme, particularly one using mechanized equipment. The motors of tanks, for instance, must be kept running until ditches have been dug beneath the heavy vehicles to receive stove-like contrivances to keep the engine warm. Further, for political and economic reasons, the Soviets appear to have massed the principal part of their army on the Moscow-Leningrad front; it is possible that this concentration was partly responsible for the loss of a large area of the Ukraine and the jeopardizing of the route to the Caucasus. Then again, aid to the Soviet Union arriving at the Arctic ports is less to be feared by Berlin than aid from the south. The U-boats can operate against the one, but not as yet against the other. The southern front, therefore offers Hitler a number of advantages as well as important objectives.

Moving toward the Caucasus, the Nazis would find the climate favorable at this season. They could look forward to depriving the enemy of important sources of oil



and metal, and at the same time increase their own stocks of fuel. On the Caucasus front the Germans could also accomplish the double purpose of cutting the relatively easy supply route to Russia via Iran and Iraq and compelling Great Britain to devote to the defense of the Near and Middle East those supplies which might otherwise be spared for Russian use. From the south the Nazi armies can threaten Moscow from a third direction, for at Kharkov they would be closer to the capital than at Leningrad.

On this southern front the invaders are patently copying their earlier Bessarabian strategy except that the targets of the two-pronged drive have been changed from Kiev in the Ukraine and Perekop at the neck of the Crimean Peninsula to inland Kharkov and the port of Rostov. The success of the first step in this operation would give the Nazis Stalin, and then the target of the second step would become Stalingrad, site of an immense tractor plant. Arrived at this southern bend of the Volga, the invader would have interposed himself between Moscow and the Caucasus.

The military moves thus far in the Ukraine present a paradox. Had Stalin's theory of war been as faulty as that followed in France, Hitler could have continued straight through from Kiev to Stalingrad. But he has been compelled to surround his forces with a wide protective belt of conquered and garrisoned territory stretching from Kiev to the Black Sea and thence to Dnepropetrovsk. In the salient theory of war the more powerful

the enemy, the wider and blunter must be the wedge that is pressed into his line of defense. Yet the very Russian resistance that caused the Nazis to spread out in this region endangers the security of the entire area. This is because the width of the territory occupied by the invaders between Kiev and the Crimea furnishes them with a substantial base for operations aimed at Stalingrad. Since Marshal Budenny did not launch an all-out offensive south of Kiev for the purpose of smashing through to the Black Sea and cutting off the Reichswehr, Hitler might conclude that the left flank of the southern Nazi army groups would not be sundered from Kharkov. Soviet threats emanating from points farther to the east would be more in the nature of apex attacks, and hence not particularly dangerous. At the moment the panzers are moving on Poltava in the central sector of the southern war zone and in the south along the Azov coast. As these advances converge and narrow, they will encounter a strategic hazard in the form of threats to both flanks.

To remove this twofold threat it is the customary German procedure not only to widen their wedge as they did at Smolensk and Kiev but also to create a diversion elsewhere. Such a feint would logically be created in the north, and before the weather had become too bitter for a secondary campaign. Despite Sofia's protestations of its peaceful intentions, the reported mobilization of the Bulgar army and the transfer of Italian ships to that flag have at least served to draw Moscow's attention still more to the south, where the danger is already great. Its alarm must be increased by rumors of another German diplomatic move on the Turkish front. A coherent

picture of great pressure upon the extremities of the Soviet line is thus furnished. The enemy is in sight of Leningrad to the north and is pressing the Ukraine operations and the war of nerves in the south. It would not be surprising therefore if, as a prelude to a winter drive into the Caucasus, a strong diversion were made against Moscow from what is now a relatively quiet part of the front. Nazi attacks upon the Vitebsk and Gomel salients would lighten the pressure upon their southern adventure and have a great political effect upon Moscow. The closing of the Nazi pincers in the Gomel area would also widen the German base line against Stalingrad.

To counteract the relentless march of the triangles, however slow or fast, it is apparent that Stalin must contrive to organize a large-scale offensive. It is too late for such a drive to be inaugurated against an area which the Germans must protect as the Soviets felt they must defend Leningrad and Moscow. Such Nazi vital points were far behind the lines even when hostilities opened. The alternative would be to throw the Red spearheads against important Nazi salients in the hope of so imperiling strong enemy groupments as to bring about withdrawals elsewhere. Or better still the entire Nazi triangle plan could be adopted. Such moves would obviously involve risks, but the unsuccessful defense of Smolensk and Kiev also involved risks—and serious losses. In the absence of a Soviet offensive, hope must be placed upon the present status of Russian equipment, upon a weakening of Nazi staying power, upon the winter, and upon the possibility of the democracies creating sufficiently strong diversions to force the Nazi wedges to fall back upon their base lines.

## Underground in Poland

BY W. R. MALINOWSKI

SEVERAL weeks ago information reached this country and Great Britain that somewhere in Poland representatives of 2,000 organized underground groups had met in a secret national convention, their second, and issued a "Manifesto to the Peoples of the World" which had been smuggled into all the conquered countries of Europe and circulated through secret channels. It has long been known that a Polish underground movement came into being after Poland's military defeat in September, 1939, but very little news concerning its activities has trickled out of the country. The new manifesto, however, is a move to rouse all the peoples of Europe, of the world even, to a united effort against Hitler, and the organization is therefore willing that a summary of its achievements should be given out.

One of its first illegal publications was a "Manifesto of Freedom" issued in November, 1939. Thousands of copies of this proclamation passed from hand to hand even before any extensive network of illegal organizations had been created. Reflecting the opinions and feeling of the Polish masses, it spread belief in ultimate victory and stressed the need of continuing the struggle. Poland at the moment of trial, it said, was "burdened fatally by errors in foreign policy, by the infiltration into the country of reactionary ideologies, by the existing governmental regime, by neglect in the economic and social field, and by the oppression of national minorities." The aims of the struggle it defined as "the reconstruction of full political freedom and independence for Poland and an existence based on the principles of democracy

and social justice." And it declared that this struggle coincided with that "of the working people of the world against totalitarianism."

A firm belief in these principles formed the basis of the underground movement, which may be said to have originated spontaneously, in many places at once. After the September defeat whenever several Poles met they were likely to become a group for underground action, even if originally they had been brought together by mere chance or common war experience. The establishment of permanent connections between these groups was the first condition for a united organization. Time was required for this, but the necessary contacts were finally established, and by June or July, 1940, the various groups were firmly welded together and capable of effective action on a wide scale.

Organized struggle against the occupation then replaced spontaneous, scattered acts of defiance. As resistance grew, the Nazis met it with terror. Sabotage on the part of workers in the munitions factory at Skarzysko, which was serving the needs of the German war machine, was punished by the mass execution of 300 workers. The concentration camps set up by the Nazis overflowed with persons who resisted the German administrators. In the camp at Palmiry, near Warsaw, 7,000 prisoners were shot in two months, among them Niedzialkowski, leader of the Polish Socialist Party and member of the Council for the Defense of Warsaw. Individuals were executed by being shot through the back of the head; in mass executions groups of prisoners were tied together and hand grenades thrown into their midst.

Guerrilla war and assassination were the answer to the Nazi terror. Hardly a week passed without the sudden disappearance of some German. The situation was reflected in the obituary columns of the German press. On May 14, 15, 16, and 26, 1941, the *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, a German paper published in Poznan, printed long lists of obituaries which ran like this: "S. S. Rottenführer Walter Buchner died suddenly on the night of May 9, 1941." In an interview published in the special press bulletin of the Nazi Party, *Die Innere Front*, the Warsaw S. S. chief, Moder, said that some thousand terrorist raids had occurred during his period of office and that "more than 50 per cent were politically motivated."

Late reports from Poland indicate that sabotage and guerrilla action have greatly increased during the past two months. The recent strike in the important railway shop in Chrzanow, near Cracow, was an act of sabotage. The German police attempted to break it by force of arms, and many persons were killed or wounded in clashes between the workers and the police. Another act of sabotage caused a railway accident at Pruszkow, near Warsaw; the German authorities announced a reward of 50,000 zlotys for the capture of the person responsible for the accident. One of the most important powder mills

in Eastern Europe, the former state powder mill in Pionki, was blown up.

With terror and propaganda and the difficulties of day-to-day existence undermining the people's morale, the underground movement must build up their fighting spirit and imbue them with a belief in ultimate victory. This is the task of the underground press. More than a hundred illegal papers are published in Poland today, although printing, distribution, or any other form of collaboration with the underground press is forbidden under penalty of death. The circulation of each of these papers is between 2,000 and 12,000. Their distribution is made possible by a carefully organized relay system, which in turn depends on the people's spirit of national solidarity and self-sacrifice. Most of these papers are printed; a few are mimeographed. They give general news and political and military information and discuss political history. Even some humorous papers are published. There are also Jewish papers, most of them organs of the Jewish underground labor movement, which stands firmly for Polish independence and cooperates closely with the Polish movement.

Every copy of an illegal paper is circulated among hundreds of people and is read until it is no longer legible. The emotional attitude of the reader toward these publications is entirely different from that toward the legal papers; every item of news about the political and military situation is eagerly absorbed. Thus this press provides an effective counter-influence to the Polish-language papers published by the agents of Goebbels. The illegal papers also have the important function of safeguarding the underground movement by printing the names of traitors who collaborate with the Germans. One issue of the *Polish News* even printed the names of some people who gave a tea party for German officers. *Polish Liberty*, in its issue of March 30, 1941, printed the name of an agent-provocateur who published a pseudo-illegal information bulletin for the sole purpose of denouncing its readers to the Gestapo. This Gestapo agent, we read in later papers, was killed in his flat in Lublin.

Every Pole knows that the underground movement has secret sources of information about pro-German activities, that the names of traitors will ultimately be revealed, and that provocateurs will be killed. Two months ago news was circulated of the assassination in Warsaw of the well-known Polish actor, Igo Sym, and of Judge Wasilewski. Both men had declared themselves *Volksdeutsche* and were collaborating with the German authorities. The assassins could not be found, and the authorities retaliated by shooting hundreds of innocent persons in the cellar of the Gestapo building, the former Students' House in Warsaw. Such assassinations are not expressions of individual vengeance but of systematic underground vigilance.

The present period of underground activity will go



down in the history of Poland as a period of intense political thinking. But the thinking takes a quite different direction from that of some émigré circles. The most mature expression of political thought in Poland today is to be found in "The People's Tribune," a thirty-two-page booklet—very long for an illegal publication—of comments on the "Manifesto of Freedom." In the section on international relations we read:

The fascist realists tempt us with a Europe united under Hitler's heel. Opposition to this plan for the future of Europe is growing daily. But the final aims of the struggle must be kept clearly in mind. We do not want to overthrow the occupying power merely in order to return to the pre-war system of large and small states, which may again fall victim to new reactionary forces fostered by the weakness, selfishness, or shortsightedness of these states.

The problem of Europe must be solved jointly by the

peoples of Europe. It is impossible to restore an independent Poland if freedom is not at the same time restored in France, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, and Holland. . . . The overthrow of the powers of the occupation cannot be accomplished unless it is simultaneous throughout Europe, unless it is the outcome of a general movement of revolt from the Atlantic Ocean to the Carpathian Mountains.

The "Manifesto of Freedom" was the first statement of principles. "The People's Tribune" was a development of that statement showing, among other things, that narrow Polish nationalism was not the inspiration of the underground movement. The "Manifesto to the Peoples of the World" marks the inauguration of a great campaign among all the captive peoples for definite democratic goals. The old Polish revolutionary slogan, "For your freedom and ours!" is the rallying cry of the present struggle.

## Big Steel and the Union Shop

BY ROSE M. STEIN

THE days of clear sailing for the National Defense Mediation Board are over. While they lasted, the seventy-odd cases certified to it were settled with record speed, most of them to the apparent satisfaction of all parties directly concerned. Each case was handled on its own merits, but out of the aggregate of decisions emerged the principle that labor's right to bargain with employers through unions of its own choosing must be upheld. This disappointed and alarmed a large section of conservative opinion, which had hoped that the board, under stress of the emergency, would steer the course of labor relations back to the good old open-shop days of 1918.

It was a hope which could not possibly be realized. The War Labor Board of the first World War had to support the open shop in defense industries because in most of them no union organization existed. Today almost all defense industries are at least partially organized. The board cannot turn the clock back. Neither can it freeze labor's status at some midway point; there is no such thing as partial collective bargaining. It has taken the logical position, therefore, that collective bargaining is an established procedure in American industry and that controversies must be settled within the framework of union-employer negotiations. Disputes over the organization which is entitled to represent employees of a given enterprise are referred to the National Labor Relations Board to be settled by speedy elections.

Industry has raised no objection to this acceptance of

unionism in principle. It is, however, powerfully resisting a development without which union recognition is meaningless. If unions and employers are to bargain in good faith, and if their bargaining is to result in agreement upon a set of conditions productive of peaceful relations, the two sides must have approximately equal bargaining power, which means that unions must be unhampered in their efforts to build strong, stable organizations. Weak unions cannot even assure that their own pledges—for example, the promise to forgo resort to strike—will be carried out. This need is particularly urgent in the present emergency and is the source of the demand by a number of unions for some form of union-maintenance guaranty.

Many employers are adamant against granting this demand and are expressing their opposition by attacking the Defense Mediation Board as bitterly as they ever harassed the National Labor Relations Board. Their arguments are distressingly lacking in candor. Shopworn slogans about the "right to work," discrimination, and tyrannical interpretation of the laws are stressed beyond all reason. The heaviest artillery, however, is reserved for the closed shop, which is pictured as a monster forcing its way into American life with the aid of the Defense Mediation Board. However, it is not true that the board has fostered the closed shop; it has recommended this type of agreement in only one instance—the Bethlehem shipyard case in San Francisco. The shipyards in that area had had closed-shop contracts with the Machinists' Union (A. F. of L.) for some time, a closed-shop provision was

included in the West Coast master agreement for shipyards, and the board's recommendation simply followed prevailing local practice.

Most of the recently established industrial unions have no overpowering desire for the closed shop. Their demand for it is frequently only a bargaining point, to be traded for some other concession. Historically the closed shop is an outgrowth of anti-unionism. The United States is the only important industrial nation in which it has made any headway, primarily because of the greater resistance here to unionism. If American industry once and for all agreed to accept collective bargaining in good faith, the closed shop, here as in Great Britain, would be relegated to a minor place in industrial relations.

The open shop is not an alternative form of union-employer relationship. In current practice the open shop is an anti-union shop, and when employers seek to maintain it they seek to restore conditions that prevailed before the Wagner Act and the unionization drive of the past eight years. Often the very employers who cling to the open shop demand a discipline and responsibility from the union which it cannot muster under those conditions. In effect they want to eat their cake and have it too.

Maintenance of union strength was the sole issue involved in the Kearny case, which marked a turning-point in the board's career. The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (C. I. O.) asked that workers of the Kearny shipyard who were already union members, as well as those who might later join voluntarily, should be compelled to keep up their dues payments. The union collected the dues, and no question of a check-off was involved. It simply asked that any member failing to pay his dues during the two-year life of the contract should be dismissed by the management upon notification from the union. Union officials argued that such a guaranty was essential to the life of the organization. The labor record of the Federal Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, they pointed out, was pretty bad. During the three years of its contractual relations with the union the management had fostered a company union, stalled on grievance procedure, and incited the rank and file against the leadership. The yard was expanding, and new employees were being hired. With its right to strike suspended, the union felt that it must strengthen its hold on the new force as well as on its present membership. In addition there was a real threat of A. F. of L. infiltration.

In the board's view these arguments outweighed by far those advanced by the company for rejecting the proposal. The guaranty of dues would in no way interfere with the management's prerogative in hiring. No evidence showed that any of the men enrolled in the union objected to paying dues or that coercion was being used to get unwilling workers to join. According to union estimates, at least 1,000 of the 17,000 men employed in the yard had not joined and probably never would join.

These men, some of whom were former members of the company union, were free to retain their non-union status. What, then, was behind the company's decision to turn over the yard to government operation rather than concede this demand?

The decision was not made by Federal Shipbuilding but by the United States Steel Corporation, of which it is a subsidiary. L. H. Korndorff, president of Federal and chiefly responsible for the growth and success of the enterprise, is known to hate unions but to hate government interference in his business even more. He would have granted the union demand—it is reported that he said so quite frankly in the presence of OPM and Navy Department officials—but he discovered he was not a free agent. When the Defense Mediation Board recommended the union-maintenance clause, and when the OPM, the Maritime Commission, the Navy Department, and the President, all supported the board, Mr. Korndorff took a plane for New York to confer with United States Steel officers. After deliberating for twenty-four hours, the Steel Corporation's executive board decided to let the government take over.

This action left the fundamental issue unsolved, though there is every likelihood that under whatever form the Kearny yard is operated the union-maintenance clause will be honored. According to Secretary Frank Knox it is being honored now while the yard is temporarily under the direction of the Navy Department. It will undoubtedly continue to be honored if, as seems probable, a special corporation to operate the yard is set up; the government is committed to the provision and can hardly go back on its promise. If the workers won a victory, however, they won it from the government, not from the Steel Corporation. United States Steel was left free to oppose the union shop wherever in its far-flung industrial empire a demand for it might be put forward.

This was not long in coming. The Mine Workers' current demand for a union shop in the captive mines is directed chiefly against the H. C. Frick Coke Company, a United States Steel subsidiary, although mines owned by other steel producers are also affected. The thirty-day truce agreed to by John L. Lewis and the mine owners has merely postponed the day of reckoning. It is an issue of long standing which will not be readily abandoned. There never was much reason, and there is probably less reason now, why mines operated for direct consumption should have a different system from those which supply coal for the open market. Having been accepted by the rest of the coal industry, the union shop is as distinctly the prevailing practice as the closed shop is in San Francisco shipyards. If the board follows the same line of reasoning as in the Bethlehem decision, it can hardly avoid recommending the miners' demand. But the motives which prompted United States Steel to reject the board's

proposal in the Kearny case are still present. The Corporation and the other steel companies know that if the union shop is granted in the captive mines, the steel mills will be the next to make such a demand. They may do so anyway. Rumblings of such action are already heard.

If labor's demands are met by a policy of straddle and evasion, there is a very real risk that we may see a wave of strikes disastrous to the defense effort. To avoid this danger, the Administration, through the Defense Mediation Board, must come to grips with the problem and settle it on the basis of principle, without any subterfuge. The defense emergency demands uninterrupted production. When industry is working in high gear, when shortages in certain classes of labor are increasing, when the cost of living is rising, labor is bound to be conscious of grievances. These can be settled without serious stoppages only if adjustment machinery has been provided in every work unit. Such machinery can operate efficiently only if it is backed by strong unions. It will fail at the first test in plants where the workers are half union and half non-union. If union strength is demonstrably dependent upon some form of union-maintenance guaranty, that must be granted. This ought to be made a matter of policy; it should be the principle behind all settlements.

The representatives of the public on the Defense Mediation Board see this need and are governed by it. Representatives of industry have acquiesced in the union-shop demand when it was possible to obtain the employer's consent, but they are opposed to forcing it on an employer who remains adamant, as in the Kearny case. The job ahead, therefore, is to convince industry that such a policy is the only sure road to industrial peace. So far the only alternative course has been surrender to government operation, which is obviously no solution. The government cannot take over the scores of mines and steel mills likely to be involved in the union-shop fight before it is over. Nor does management want to abdicate its role in American life. While it is a long step from industry's original open-shop position to acceptance of the union shop, once collective bargaining is embraced, the union shop ceases to be a bogey. Employers who have agreed to it have sacrificed none of their legitimate prerogatives. Continued opposition to it, therefore, may be attributed either to conscious resistance to collective bargaining, which must be fought to a finish, or to a prejudice persisting from anti-union days, which may be dissipated by an appeal to reason. Many industrial leaders are free of this fear and can be enlisted to cooperate with labor leaders and the Mediation Board to persuade their more apprehensive colleagues. The task might prove easier than it appears if approached in complete frankness as a forthright labor policy. A session between the President and the entire personnel of the Defense Mediation Board might do the trick.

## Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### Facing Inflation—II

IN MY last article I showed how prices were being pressed upward as a mounting volume of purchasing power competed for a limited volume of goods. One remedy briefly discussed was an increase in the market supply of goods, and it was suggested that the government should release at least some part of its reserve stocks of those farm commodities which have been sky-rocketing in price under conditions of artificial shortage. It should have been added that it is equally important to curb the building up of excessive inventories by manufacturers and the accumulation of goods for purely speculative purposes. For instance, it is now impossible to buy certain important industrial chemicals at quoted prices in the regular markets, although plentiful supplies can be obtained by paying a large premium. It is high time that measures were taken not merely to prevent speculative raids of this kind but to force hoarders to disgorge.

Quite apart from the immediate effect of such profiteering on prices, its reactions on the general supply of consumers' goods must be taken into consideration. We cannot achieve the maximum production which is so essential if greedy manipulators are allowed to dam up the flow of raw materials, already unavoidably restricted by genuine defense needs.

But even if such adventitious obstacles to production are removed, even if by better planning we put to work more of our idle men and machines, the demand side of the purchasing-power-consumer-goods equation will almost certainly outbalance the supply side. The general problem can be illustrated statistically, but I must warn the reader to regard the figures given simply as stills taken from a moving picture. For the current fiscal year national income—the total of goods and services produced—may be roughly estimated at around \$90 billion. Of this sum federal defense and normal expenditures will account for about \$22 billion, leaving \$68 billion available for other consumers. The total of money incomes, including undistributed profits, will also be around \$90 billion. From this must be deducted, however, budget receipts, including proceeds from the new levies which take effect on October 1, expected to reach \$11½ billion. Net payment to social security and other government trust funds will lop off another \$1½ billion, leaving all receivers of income with a balance of \$77 billion available for the purchase of goods and services worth \$68 billion.

The \$9 billion difference between these last two items is, as a very simple calculation will show, exactly equivalent to the anticipated federal deficit. Hence if the Treasury could persuade receivers of incomes as a whole to buy \$9 billion worth of defense bonds, effective purchasing power would be brought down to the level of the volume of available goods, and there would be no rise in the general price level. What are the prospects of such a result being achieved?

It must be admitted that the defense-bond campaign



launched at the beginning of May has been only moderately successful. Up to August 31 the total received was \$1,272,000,000, with May the best month and August the worst. No improvement seems likely in September, and unless sales are jacked up considerably, proceeds for a full year will be under \$3½ billion. This means that more than half the deficit will have to be met by borrowing from the banks—a process which not only does not subtract from purchasing power but by adding to the total of deposits exerts a positive inflationary influence.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the subject of compulsory savings should have been raised. In the *Wall Street Journal* of September 6 the Treasury was credited with a plan for gradually collecting during the emergency years a total of two months' pay from every employed person. This sum would be repaid to the contributor whenever he or she became unemployed, and for this reason it has been spoken of as a "separation wage." Mr. Morgenthau used this term when listing his proposals for combating inflation at Boston on September 9, but he did not go into details, and in his evidence on September 24 before the House Banking and Currency Committee there was no reference to compulsory saving.

The idea of a separation wage may therefore have suffered a still-birth. Personally I hope so, for a levy of this magnitude, even if spread over two or three years, strikes me as both impracticable and unjust. It might be borne by those to whom the defense program has brought a sharp increase in income, but it must be remembered that millions of people have not and probably will not in future obtain rises in wages or salaries commensurate with the advance in the cost of living already experienced. The only fair way of collecting compulsory savings is to relate the levy to income tax and make it progressive, as has been done in Britain.

But before resorting to compulsion more effort should, I believe, be put into the voluntary savings campaign. The Treasury has been at pains, and with good reason, to avoid the kind of ballyhoo which accompanied the Liberty Loan drives of the last war. It has fallen, however, into the opposite error of putting on a sales campaign almost totally lacking in zip. Having no advertising appropriation of its own, it must depend for publicity on space and time donated by publishers and radio stations. I am inclined to think that a more effective campaign could be waged were Congress to provide the Treasury with \$10 million or so for advertising purposes and thus relieve it of the necessity of relying on what is, in effect, charity. I am aware that there are political objections to government disbursements for this purpose, but it should be possible to develop safeguards against abuses.

A greater sale of bonds might also be prompted by the payment of a modest commission to banks acting as agents—another departure from tradition. Large numbers of banks, though by no means all, are volunteering their services in disposing of bonds to the public. The work involves them in extra expenses and, it is to be feared, is often undertaken without any great enthusiasm. Payment of a small commission—say one-eighth of one per cent—might prove much more fruitful than patriotic appeals in obtaining the bankers' cooperation.

Once again it has proved impossible to deal with the many aspects of this subject in my limited space, and I must leave the question of the way taxation may be used to check inflation for a third and final article.

## In the Wind

THE NEXT FEW MONTHS will probably see a new crop of non-interventionist leaders replace the Lindbergh, Wheeler, and Nye group. America First, according to those who watch it closely, realizes that the anti-Semitic outburst of early September came either too early or too late to be effective in any sense. Though the committee did not repudiate Lindbergh, it has decided to try another approach. It will emphasize, for the time being at least, the sweet reasonableness of Herbert Hoover's recent speeches, and its leading spokesmen will be Hoover and Senators Taft and Vanderberg.

WHEN THE NEW YORK TIMES ran a picture of Winston Churchill toasting the five French boys who crossed to England in canoes, the caption said that they had come "to join the forces fighting against the Reds."

F. H. PETER CUSICK, director of Fight for Freedom, has been campaigning for Willkie for President in 1944.

WHEN William V. O'Dwyer, Democratic candidate for mayor of New York, charged Judge Herbert A. O'Brien of Queens with being an anti-Semite, O'Brien told friends that he would reply in a radio broadcast. Asked how he expected to prove that he was not anti-Semitic, the judge said that he would cite his known opposition to "the murders of thousands of priests and nuns in Spain."

MRS. ELIZABETH DILLING sometimes gets caught in her own Red Network. Recently she described Senator Burton K. Wheeler as a "true American." In her famous catalogue of radicals he is listed as an agent of "un-American causes."

PRESS NOTES: B. W. Sangor, publisher of magazines of comics, is the owner of *TNT*, a new pulp monthly that combines lowbrow cartoons and anti-fascist jokes in a ratio of ten to one. . . . J. D. Holtzman, Minneapolis business man, has started a weekly called the *Beacon* which reprints almost all speeches by leading isolationists.

FROM A LETTER to the editor of the *Chicago Times*: "I think the best way is to give Lindbergh a plane and enough gasoline to take him to Berlin. He made a Hess of himself in his Des Moines speech."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

## Hitler Isn't Funny

LIKE some Senators who are pretty sure that the movies have been busily trying to hurry us into war, I had not seen Charlie Chaplin's film "The Great Dictator." And I should probably never have seen it if, after Senator Nye recalled my attention to it, it had not been playing at a movie across from a filling station on one of the main American roads. It was a town of 1,323 people, whose only paved street was the great road—one of those good little American towns where you have to go outside the town limits even to get beer and where the good Americans sit in the movie darkness and munch the popcorn they can buy at the door. Less than half the people of the country now live outside the towns of 2,500 and over. But in an America which has 11,000,000 movie-theater seats—even though half of them are in eight populous states—Charlie Chaplin has got to expect some of his profits from the country boys. Also the country boys, and country girls, women, and men, are important, I imagine, to those who wish to propagandize America. I paid my 30 cents and went in to see what Mr. Chaplin was doing to them.

I came out thirsty from munching popcorn and a little more confused than ever about this propaganda business. The city critics had their say about Mr. Chaplin's comedy of dictatorship six months ago. I don't remember what they said. The funny picture about Mr. Hitler came out just before he moved across the Balkans from Bulgaria to Crete. The Senators are sure it has done its work in hurrying this country toward war. It didn't seem that way in this little town. It seemed like propaganda all right. Everything seems propaganda in times like these. Maybe everything is. But if there is any central teaching in "The Great Dictator" it seems to me that not Senator Nye but President Roosevelt ought to be getting mad. Viewing it in the village movie I felt that America First should be purring about Chaplin as an art form.

Mr. Chaplin taught us this in the long narrow hall in the little town: (1) that Hitler is a funny little guy; (2) that it would only be necessary for a kindly ex-lunatic to get the car of the Germans for them to burst into spontaneous cheers for democracy and brotherly love. There are some other minor teachings in the film, such as that storm troopers pogromming a ghetto are actually nothing more than the Mack Sennett cops who have been chasing Chaplin for thirty years to the ulti-

mate discomfiture of the cops, and that anti-Semitism can be ended as promptly as a movie. But it was all very funny. Some of the antics were new, but most of them were the old well-loved grotesqueries of our youth. Mr. Chaplin was not making propaganda. He was just remaking his old film about the funny little guy in Cinderella's life. He did not so much creep up with propaganda, even if he did put Hitler into his picture, as let time creep up to him and make him an ironical clown. During the past six months, while Hitler was destroying Greece, driving into Russia, spreading his menace at sea, Mr. Chaplin has been convincing American villagers that Hitler is funny, that Hitlerism is a joke, and that we can count on the happy ending for our 30 cents.

I am sure Mr. Chaplin meant no such thing. I suspect that Senator Nye is right in his feeling that Mr. Chaplin was not trying to help Hitler. But if movies as propaganda have the force and effect the isolationist Senators seem to think they have, it seems to me that the Chaplin film is better calculated to minimize the threat from Hitler than any other single thing that I've seen in country town or in New York. As Southerner I remember a song out of the Civil War which was still sung in the South of my youth. I'm not sure of the words, but they were something like this:

Jeff Davis rides a big horse;  
Abe Lincoln rides a mule.  
Jeff Davis is a gentleman;  
Abe Lincoln is a fool.

A lot of Southerners were pretty sure of that. Certainly I'm not comparing Hitler with Lincoln. But I am comparing a people that thinks Hitler is funny, even with the assistance of one of the great comedians of our time, with every people that has undertaken to laugh at its opponents. I doubt that anybody can correlate the causes of what some people feel is the apathy of the American people with regard to the menace of totalitarianism. But certainly when the isolationists call Charlie Chaplin a war-maker, they are getting funny—funnier, I think, though not less dangerous, than "The Great Dictator." Propaganda is queer stuff sometimes when it gets down to the people. Mr. Chaplin has been more effective in lulling us with laughter than Lindbergh has in cursing the President, the British, and the Jews.

Hitler isn't funny. And it may be serious business in the towns and the cities and the villages when Mr. Chaplin makes us laugh at him as a funny little guy.

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## An Epicurean on Liberty

STRICTLY PERSONAL. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

ONE sentence in Mr. Maugham's short book is already coming to be famous. No reader is likely to miss what leaps out of the usually rather diffuse text to catch the attention with its ring of classic finality. But quotation is inevitable: "If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too."

Now Mr. Maugham has never taken any pains to conceal the fact that he himself loves comfort, if not first then second, and, by implication at least, he confesses it again in this anecdotal account of how war overtook him at his Mediterranean villa. Indeed, those who are irritated by references, too frequent and too casual, to gardeners and footmen, yachts and dinner parties, may be irritated by the prominent part they play in a story which does, nevertheless, include the fall of France and the author's own far from luxurious voyage of twenty days from Cannes to a British port in a fearfully overcrowded collier. But it is just possible that they were included for a definite purpose, and whether they were or not, they do serve to emphasize the one thing which the author has to add to the analysis of an event already analyzed many times before.

So far as the fall of France is concerned, Mr. Maugham's anecdotes add up to the conclusions now generally accepted. The army was ill-equipped, and the general staff rotten with jealous intrigue. The upper classes tended to feel that Hitler was preferable to Blum; the lower classes that this was not their war anyway. And if there were exceptions to this general rule, the exceptions were little disposed to risk their own lives. In the beginning there was optimism but no passion; "everyone you met was full of the defeats that were going to be inflicted on the Axis, but the boys were glad they were too young to fight and the old men said they had fought in the last war and that was enough." The source of France's weakness went, in other words, even deeper than lack of idealism and of physical courage; it included a failure to recognize simple self-interest. Rightists on the one hand and leftists on the other had been oratorically declaiming that nothing could be worse than what they had for so long that they had come finally to believe it. They had, they insisted, nothing to lose, and if they have found out now just how wrong they were, it is too late for them to do anything about it.

And therein lies, perhaps, both the moral of Mr. Maugham's book and the justification for his continuing to write as he has always written. Heroes may or may not have been plentiful in the past, but they are obviously scarce in the modern world; and so are idealists. If we in America are lost unless a complacent and comfort-loving people can be transformed overnight into a race of knights-errant, then we are probably lost already. It is extremely unlikely that capi-

talists are going to turn selfless and workers stop caring about higher wages without further ado. But if both could only realize how much each has still to lose, they might quite possibly get together for the duration.

Mr. Maugham, like most writing Englishmen today, assumes as a matter of course that post-war England will be a very much more democratic country than it is at present. He seems, moreover, to be glad that it will. But that is not really the point. The moral is directed not at those who hope for a better world but at those who would really prefer this one or a worse. If you cannot love freedom in the abstract, you had better try to realize how many things you can lose by putting them first.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## Lusin, a Chinese Modern

AH Q AND OTHERS. Selected Stories of Lusin. Translated by Chi-Chen Wang. Columbia University Press. \$2.50.

THERE is no chinoiserie about the history of modern China, and there is none in Lusin. Lusin, who was born in 1881 and died in 1936, wrote from the full experience of his times. The complex tragedy of sudden change, a change which in China was almost a convulsion in the conception of reality, is the essence of his stories. It was a metamorphosis forced upon China by the West but made possible by the inoperation of its own virtues. The old classical culture, with its self-devotion turned to self-indulgence, deteriorated into a cult of the past that buttressed a corrupt social and political order. The cultivation of an individuality that tended more and more to consider knowledge and participation in the government as its own exclusive privilege produced a disunity from which China still suffers. A deep-rooted love of peace degenerated into a seemingly inexhaustible capacity to endure hardship and disgrace. And the Confucian intuitive method, limited by its nature to humanistic studies, precluded all modern scientific investigation. Yet these virtues turned to their opposites, not because they were any less virtues, but because they had been allowed to wither into simulacra that were powerless against the reality of ignorance, poverty, corruption, and disease.

Not only would Lusin have been unable to write his stories before the revolution, but the very language in which they are written would have been different. For scarcely twenty-five years ago the official language of China was the classical *wen-li*, which was incapable of being spoken or verbally understood. It had died 2,000 years ago. It was unknown to the people, not to be mastered in a lifetime, but it was a language of entrenched power, since through a system of state examinations a knowledge of the old language and literature and the moral writings was mandatory for political advancement. At a time when 85 per cent of the people were illiterate, even textbooks in the primary grades had to be translated word for word into the local speech of the pupils. But *nota*: from their beginnings centuries ago



the novels of China and the legends and tales that preceded them were not written in the language of the state. Novels were written in *pei hua*, the living, changing language of the people, whose lives and tastes they reflected. They were written in *pei hua* so they could be understood when read aloud by story-tellers, for the common people could not read. Thus there existed at the same time literature as art, written according to fixed rules in *wen-li*, the exclusive property of the scholars, and a developing popular tradition in the novels and stories written in *pei hua*, which were not, of course, considered literature by the literati. It was not until about 1917, under the leadership of Dr. Hu Shih, the present Chinese ambassador at Washington, that a conscious movement was begun to make *pei hua* the national language.

It is difficult for us to grasp the tremendous importance of the language problem in the history of modern China, for there has been nothing comparable in Western civilization, not even the use of Latin in the Middle Ages. As Dr. Hu Shih states in "The Chinese Renaissance," a book which I recommend to you, "once the table of values was turned upside down, once the vulgar language was consciously demonstrated to be the best-qualified candidate for the honor of the national language of China, the success of the revolution was beyond doubt." It was while he was a student at Cornell and Columbia that Hu Shih, and other Chinese in American colleges, endeavored to state and to solve the problem. And although the suddenness of the change has been overemphasized (it had been going on for centuries), it is amazing that in a few years *pei hua* was officially recognized as the national language. Politicians adopted it to reach the people. Textbooks were ordered rewritten—*pei hua*, I am told, is no more difficult for a Chinese child to learn to read than English for an English child. As early as 1918 hundreds of little magazines appeared, couriers of a reawakened power of literary expression which will mature in times of peace. From a literary and cultural point of view, I know of nothing more exciting. The revolution was assured by the language of the people, which in turn was possible only through revolution.

Lusin is generally acknowledged to be one of the best of modern Chinese writers. His critical essays and his history of Chinese fiction are held by some to be of more lasting value than his stories, but the stories are certainly very good. There are influences, Russian and French, which do not matter. I don't usually care for short stories, finding them, to use Constance Rourke's expression, "hardly more than a carefully prepared ejaculation," but these have such depth and humanity that I feel the characters are capable of a life extending from the story, rather than contained within it. One of them, A Hermit at Large, is so good that every time I read it I feel the shock that sometimes comes in listening to music—of something completely resolved and freed. Lusin writes of the multiple effects of change and of the living barriers. He writes of "man-eating man" and of "man-eating morals," and of the agonizing clash of the old and the new in the loyalties of a personal life. All the human problems of a new culture are explored honestly and fully, with great understanding. In their own pain, fury, and sorrow his characters reveal how the demands of new standards of truth can shake the individual to the core of his existence; how

pitifully one can suffer in the toils of a belief, however vestigial; and how one can tear out a part of oneself to get away, only to find oneself alone and dispossessed. They show what an impossible amount of courage it takes to live an honest life at a time when all values are distorted, when action and reaction are more than ever reflected in new hypocrisies, new conformisms, new casuistics, when huge lives and dies hard.

An outline of the best of these stories could give little impression of their excellence, or of a total effect and a surpassing technique that elude analysis. One can, however, talk about Ah Q, which though good, is one of those pieces that are more important as literary landmarks than as literature. Ah Q is a "philosopher" who asks no questions. He is resigned in the old way, enjoying a moral self-satisfaction that turns every defeat into a spiritual victory. When he is attacked by the stronger, his complacency is restored either by attacking the weaker or by "forgetfulness, a treasured trait which he had inherited from his ancestors." When the revolution comes to his village he is sleeping. When he offers himself to the revolutionaries they not only reject him but condemn him to death for a robbery he did not commit—because an arrest was necessary "for prestige." Carried off to his execution, he feels "that it was in the nature of things that some people should be unlucky enough to have their heads cut off." Public opinion was outraged at the lack of a proper spectacle. The satire is Swiftian; it has real bite. Yet Lusin makes Ah Q a person, not an abstraction. It is significant that the prototype of Ah Q was an actual person—that he was not intended as the symbol which he later became.

The inherited tradition of a culture is the repose from which an artist writes. A full knowledge of what is happening to that culture during his lifetime is the excitement in which he writes. Either one or both may be unconscious, but both must be present; the mark of a modern writer, of any age, is that he is, or seems to be, more conscious of both than other writers of his time. The virtues of Lusin's stories are no older than those of his own time and no newer than the old virtues of his culture; differences are as vital as they are transitory. Notwithstanding what he writes and how he writes, Lusin inevitably recalls the dominant modes of Chinese literature and times very different from his own. The perfection of detail, the recurrent themes of parting and separation, the manifold intuitive meanings, the revelation of individual life, his very unobtrusiveness, bring beautifully to mind the whole stream of Chinese poetry and the age-long culture that created its own forms to express its own needs. One of the differences is the tone of his critical attitude, his irony and satire. And part of the beauty of the Hermit story is a truly shattering sense of horror that one feels to be a component of his understanding. Yet in all the stories the humanity of the intention—the humor, too—produces the effect of complete realism, and without any recourse to an agglomeration of realistic impedimenta.

There is an excellent introduction by Chi-Chen Wang, whose translation is the best I have seen of Lusin. I recommend Lusin solely as good literature, but it should go without saying that as good literature it carries in itself, for those who are more than merely sympathetic, a real understanding of the China of today.

H. P. LAZARUS

## The Progress of Planning

**PLANNING FOR AMERICA.** By George B. Galloway and Associates. Henry Holt and Company. \$4.

IT WAS a grand idea to make this survey of American planning techniques, achievements, and problems in various fields of endeavor. The survey covers resource planning in terms of land, water energy, technology, and science; industrial and agricultural planning in terms of capital formation, farm problems, consumption, income, investment, employment, and public works; and aspects of social, regional, international, and defense planning. It is a compendium on planning. While the chapters are uneven in quality, as is natural, they are always informative and often illuminating.

Two major impressions are gained from a reading of this book. One is of the varied nature of American planning, the great progress it has made (largely under pressure of necessity), and its constantly increasing scope; it is amazing that people should still talk of textbook *laissez faire* while planning enmeshes them in its relations. The other is that we have in this country the natural resources, the technical-economic capacity, and the planning techniques to solve the economic problem—that is, not merely to abolish poverty but to rebuild our whole environment for finer living on all levels.

Many of the contributions, however, suffer from the disease of bureaucratic expertitis—specialized bureaucratic routine, the narrow caution that rejects imagination, an inability to project experience to meet new problems. The defect is most apparent in the two chapters on defense planning, especially the one on industrial mobilization, which throw scarcely any light on the major economic problems of defense. The chapter on industrial mobilization is a factual description and an apologetic for the old National Defense Advisory Commission and its successor, OPM; if half of what it says were true the materials of war would be flowing now in torrents. The commission "forged a new type of political instrument"; it developed "step by step the procedures for locating and drawing upon the productive capacity of smaller producers" (tell that one to small business men). The Consumer Division is touted as "a partner in a joint effort to build total defense, civilian as well as military," though it was in fact an illegitimate stepchild seen as little as possible and never heard. The system of voluntary piecemeal price-fixing works "successfully" in the pages of this chapter while in actuality it lies about us in ruins. Nor is there a word about monopoly, shortages, or opposition to new capacity, the theoretical and practical problems of economic mobilization.

The contributors, moreover, suffer from what Galloway describes rightly as a major shortcoming of the New Deal: "Its economics has been muddled—having been a hybrid of many schools of thought, each with its different theory of the business cycle, its conflicting diagnosis of the causes of depression, and its incompatible remedies." There is consequently no direct confrontation of the problem of economic change and reconstruction; the contributors "sneak up" on the problem. The reader is led to assume that the several bits and pieces of planning, if they go far enough, will solve the problem. Yet we might keep on doing all the planning described in this book, on a larger scale, and still move to-

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ward economic breakdown or totalitarianism. For planning techniques may serve within democratic or totalitarian relations. That is recognized by a number of the contributors, especially Galloway, but they do not fully explore the relations under which planning can be democratic. We must know what major economic changes to make and what kind of a desirable new order we want to build.

Finally, this crude unlimited faith in planning leads to an overemphasis on it. Galloway writes, "Planning embraces all the problems of human relations in a modern industrial society"; I should hate to live by the social results of such universal planning. The problem is wrongly posed by another contributor: "Who shall exercise the ultimate power, business or government?" This is an approach that might give government all power and bring totalitarianism. Government cannot be identified with the community, in which it is only one element. Power should be shared, not concentrated. It should be shared among government and useful functional groups in the community: business (the elements we decide to retain), management, and labor, farmers and consumers, professional people. If we make basic economic changes to create a new equilibrium, with government a balance wheel and not master, we shall not need the universal planning that squeezes the democratic juice out of life; we shall need only the minimum of strategic planning that promotes democratic freedom.

LEWIS COREY

## The Misuses of History

*GERMANY THE AGGRESSOR THROUGHOUT THE AGES.* By F. J. C. Hearnshaw. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50.

*FROM LUTHER TO HITLER: THE HISTORY OF FASCIST-NAZI POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.* By William Montgomery McGovern. Houghton Mifflin and Company. \$4.

*THINKER VERSUS JUNKER.* By Will Schaber. New York: Frederick Ungar. \$2.50.

IT IS legitimate that professional students of the past should want to share in the battles of the present. The knowledge and unbiased thought of the historian can be of great use. In the past we find the eternally human, the analogous and similar, as well as the pre-history of our own time, and the good statesman must know it just as the psychopathologist must know his patient's biography. And like the psychopathologist who knows the special logic of mental disease, its laws and hazards, the historian must be aware of the great diversity of problems inherent in the logic of history. Simplification is the death of truth, and the historian who succumbs to it in the interest of contemporary needs is no longer a historian but a pamphleteer.

A classic instance of such misuse of the historical approach is "Germany the Aggressor," by Professor Hearnshaw of the University of London. The book, according to the author a story "of a single texture throughout," begins with the barbaric Cimbers and Teutons, whom he finds already typically German (no more so, it might be suggested, than the British or the House of Bourbon). King Ariovistus talked like Dr. Goebbels; the Thirty Years' War was a war of German

aggression (whose aggression? against whom?); Wallenstein's army was made up of storm troopers; the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg had "no conception of Europe or humanity" (hardly to be expected of a little prince of the Thirty Years' War); Frederick the Great was the "eighteenth-century Hitler," and so on. And when we finally reach those more familiar regions where the present does begin to cast its always doubtful shadow, the reader has lost belief in the whole enterprise. The book is written with humor and intelligence, and some of its theses are quite defensible. But by what sleight-of-hand can one lump two thousand years of packed and various history into the simple equation: Germany = aggressor?

The truth is that "Germany," as we understand the word today, is hardly 150 years old. The madness of the German people is a contemporary disease, though like all other human events its germs existed in the past. The pioneers of the era dominant in the age of William II are influential in Bismarck's time and vaguely discernible during the last years of the Napoleonic crisis: beyond that it is meretricious to look. It seems, for instance, highly doubtful that there is any serious connection between eighteenth-century Prussia and Nazism. It is worth remembering that English liberals until recently hailed the outcome of the Seven Years' War as a triumph of Protestantism, progress, and philosophy, which indicates that the rise of Prussia held the possibility, at least, of consequences quite different from those with which it is now generally identified. This is even more true of the first nationalist upheaval of modern Germany, that of 1813. It contained both good and bad elements, and the bad very gradually won out, but for historians such as Professor Hearnshaw this whole tragic, complex, and highly instructive story is only a straight line of obvious causes and inevitable effects.

For the history of ideas this point of view is even less illuminating than for the history of facts. The destiny of a political idea in time and space can be highly irrational. A philosopher's work may provoke effects that have nothing to do with his moral character and very little even with the rational content of his thought. The element of continuity is inextricably linked to its opposite: individuality, spontaneity. A "history of Fascist-Nazi political philosophy" should therefore begin by describing fascism less as a philosophical theory than as a catastrophic event, and then proceed to its intellectual implications and their origins in the past. The order should be that of a picture in which the present dominates and the intellectual movements of previous centuries recede more and more into the background. If it is presented as a straight line through the ages, from its beginning to its end, many great philosophers of the past are reduced to being mere forerunners of fascism, whereas in a closer view it is clear that they have their own dignity and their own dimensions, and that their being in the background is not a quality in itself but a matter of perspective.

The work of Professor McGovern, who seeks the origins of fascism as far back as the sixteenth century, is not an analysis but a story, and it fails accordingly. If fascism started in the sixteenth century, with the secularization of the state, then so did almost every other political development. The past and the future must always interfuse wherever the



human spirit is at work; the problem is to delimit those interfusions which are central and reasonably well defined. The disaster called Nazism is not a good starting-point for a history of philosophy, and if used as such it gives not history but distortion. If a teacher depicts Hegel only as a torch-bearer of Hitlerism or a ridiculous obscurantist, and gives no sense of his creative and imaginative power, then his students may well feel entitled to laugh at all philosophy. Hegel's aberrations, his guilt, the paradoxical threads which connect even this deeply religious and humanistic thinker with the hideous misery of our time, are but one aspect and one to be considered with the utmost circumspection.

To inflate a fragmentary fact into an all-dominating, timeless truth is the cartoon type of abstraction and can do only harm. The concept of the class struggle as the key to all social understanding is one such abstraction. Another is that Germany was an aggressor state for 2,000 years, and that the greatest philosophers since the Reformation spent their time hatching Hitlerism. That "all truly great Germans were liberals," as Mr. Schaber would like us to believe, is of course an abstraction of the same kind. His anthology makes good reading; but by a clever choice of texts the exact opposite might just as easily have been proved.

In all of these works there is a curious tendency to project over the past the loathsome present represented by Adolf Hitler. Has Hitler so much stature? The present, in all its brute ugliness, will determine the decisions and actions of the near future; no Charlemagne or Frederick Barbarossa or Hegel is needed for that. Present and future are the realm of necessity. The past is the realm of freedom, given to us not to enslave but to contemplate and enjoy.

GOLO MANN

## Catholic Internationalism

*THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER.* By A. C. F. Beales. Penguin Books. 25 cents.

"CATHOLIC internationalism is . . . a scheme of things without which world order must be purely arbitrary in theory and only fleetingly attained, if at all, in practice." This is the thesis of "The Catholic Church and International Order" by a recent English convert, A. C. F. Beales. Mr. Beales attempts to sustain this thesis by an exposition of Catholic philosophy, a brief review of the relations of church and state from the earliest times to today, and a full statement of the theory of national sovereignty as limited by natural law in both internal and external relations. The book leads up to the Peace Message of Pius XII as the authoritative statement of the Catholic position today.

While Mr. Beales has gathered together much valuable material in a small space, the book fails to convince, because very early the reader notices confusions and omissions which indicate either lack of candor, too great enthusiasm, or naivete. It is not candid to say that the "authority the Popes claimed was always a spiritual authority, never a direct temporal one." Both the acts and the statements of Gregory VII, Innocent III and IV, and especially Boniface VIII asserted a direct temporal authority. The theory of indirect power achieved explicit statement much later when it became obvi-

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ous that recalcitrant kings could be held in check only by going over their heads to the people. It is naive to say, speaking of the Concordat of 1929 with Italy, that "the Pope secured the acknowledgment of his right to appoint bishops in Italy—subject only to a possible veto by the Italian government on 'political grounds'—which veto has not been exercised." The Pope selects the bishops with an eye on the possible veto, and anti-fascists are simply not presented. Such distortion is evident throughout.

Fortunately for the world which is looking for a secure foundation for international order there are better books on the subject than this one. Don Luigi Sturzo in "Church and State," "Politics and Morality," and "The International Community and the Right of War" speaks with the authority and impartiality of a true Catholic scholar, omitting no pertinent fact, however damaging it may seem. In spite of that impartiality, or perhaps because of it, Catholic doctrine and tradition achieve in his books a clear and most seductive statement.

RUTH O'KEEFE

## Out of Australia

*THE TIMELESS LAND.* By Eleanor Dark. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

IT IS strange that there have been few popular novels among the many written about Australia. Lawrence and Richardson both wrote beautifully of it, but neither caught the drama which is so obvious in its history. A land of hostile soil and climate, romantically remote, settled by the most desperate criminals of eighteenth-century England, should offer dramatic material to any writer. If conflict is a fundamental in the plotting of fiction, Australia should be prime.

Mrs. Dark's previous books on her native country, notably "Return to Coolambi," showed her to be a writer of excellent prose and a sure psychologist. "The Timeless Land" exhibits her grown talents with a story more ambitious than the others, a historical novel based on the journals and letters of the colonists in the first five years of settlement along the east coast of Australia, rounded factually by a study of the natives worthy of a professional ethnologist, and chinked with appropriate fiction. For the first time, I believe, we see in graphic full scale the initial conflicts and adjustments of a dark race with a white one. Largely it is the natives' story here, and Mrs. Dark has so intelligently portrayed them that they are never quaint or exotic; they think and feel as convincingly as do their white neighbors; their language is man's talk, not the babbling of Brer Rabbit.

When Governor Phillip was sent out with the first shipload of convicts to settle Australia, the task seemed hopeless, for not only was the land "very dreadful," an arid waste, but the settlers he brought had few farmers and artisans among them. Dumped on the beach with the women convicts from whom they had been separated for months, Phillip reasonably expected first an orgy of lust, then a period of general lawlessness before rehabilitation was possible for his charges, but he did not foresee the horrors of hunger, disease, drought, and man-made cruelty that would confront them for many years. Nor did Bennilong, leader of his native tribe, foresee the spiritual disaster that would be visited upon his people through contact with the whites. These Bushmen

are not idealized; they kill and rape and steal, but their simple culture seems none the less noble in contrast to that of the white invaders. Death, to Bennilong, should never be the shameful thing that it was on the convicts' gallows, nor could he understand why a man must be humiliated by flogging to improve him.

Bennilong, the proud, the furious, is a unique character in fiction, and the assassin, Andrew Prentice, rediscovering the earth and the goodness of it, is a giant to scare the sin out of a timorous reader. Slowly, through them and the opposing forces they stand for, this racial drama is built toward a climax that is stirring and exquisite in its simplicity. Mrs. Dark has something of the power of Isak Dinesen, a sheer respect for language and the rhythmical progress of sentences that is now too often derided by those with a social message to tell at any cost. This is a rare, bountiful book, rich with authentic history and the best of fiction.

HASSOLDT DAVIS

## PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

- INDIANA.* A Guide to the Hoosier State. American Guide Series. Oxford. \$2.75.
- TIME EXPOSURE.* With a Commentary and Captions by Peter Quennell. By Cecil Beaton. Scribner's. \$3.75.
- WAR, POLITICS, AND EMOTION.* By Geoffrey Bourne. Liveright. \$1.25.
- THE ENGLISH ARE LIKE THAT.* By Philip Carr. Scribner's. \$2.75.
- FREE SPEECH IN THE UNITED STATES.* By Zechariah Chafee, Jr. Harvard. \$4.
- BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S EXPERIMENTS.* A New Edition of Franklin's "Experiments and Observations on Electricity." Edited by I. Bernard Cohen. Harvard. \$4.
- THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.* By Harold Underwood Faulkner, Tyler Koener, Hall Bartlett. Harper. \$3.50.
- PATTERN OF MEXICO.* By Clifford Gessler. Appleton-Century. \$5.
- PAYING FOR DEFENSE.* By Albert Gailord Hart and Edward D. Allen. In Collaboration with the Economics Staff of Iowa State College. Blakiston. \$2.50.
- GREY EMINENCE.* A Study in Religion and Politics. By Aldous Huxley. Harper. \$3.50.
- SCUM OF THE EARTH.* By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. \$2.50.
- TEN LITHOGRAPHS BY KAETHE KOLLWITZ.* Henry Kleemann of the Kleemann Galleries and Curt Valentin of the Buchholz Gallery. \$6.
- THIS IS ENGLAND TODAY.* By Allan Nevins. Scribner's. \$1.25.
- MONTE CRISTO AND OTHER PLAYS.* Edited by J. B. Russak. Princeton. \$5.
- LATIN AMERICA.* A Descriptive Survey. By William Lytle Schurz. Dutton. \$3.75.
- FOUNDING FATHERS.* Men Who Shaped Our Tradition. By Kenneth Umbreit. Harper. \$3.50.
- SECRET HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.* By Carl Van Doren. Viking. \$3.75.
- GUSTAV MAHLER.* By Bruno Walter. Greystone. \$3.
- BETWEEN THE ACTS.* By Virginia Woolf. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.50.
- NEW LIBERTIES FOR OLD.* By Carl L. Becker. Yale. \$2.
- A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN ENGLISH ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES.* Part XIII. Sir William A. Craigie, Editor. University of Chicago. \$4.
- HITLER CANNOT CONQUER RUSSIA.* By Maurice Hindus. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.

## MUSIC

PERIODICALLY we are told that opera has not established itself in this country because it has been sung in foreign languages and people have not been able to understand what it was about. Opera is popular in Europe, according to this argument, because in each country it is sung in the language of the country; and if it is to acquire a large audience here it must be sung in English.

But if we go back to the early days of opera in Europe we find that it was sung everywhere in Italian. Mozart's operas, for example, were written to Italian words and sung in Italian in Vienna; and I doubt that there were many in the audiences who knew the language well enough to follow the meaning of the text as it was sung. Yet this did not keep people from the performances—which means that they must have had some other reason for going. And I find it reasonable to suppose that they went for the music and cared enough about it to acquaint themselves with the text in advance—which is what people do in Vienna today.

In Vienna today Mozart's operas are sung in German translations; and without considering what is lost by having music that was written for the soft sound and easy flow of Italian sung to the harsh and cumbersome German words, we must note the fact that the people who attend the performances read librettos beforehand or in the intermissions, just as they do here. The fact is that the words of opera are too hard to hear: they are distended and unintelligible in the process of singing; the orchestra drowns them; the people are too far from the stage. Even, then, if we accept the contention that to be interested in opera one must be able to follow the words, the fact that singing the words in English would not enable them to do so, and that to understand what is going on they would still have to read the libretto beforehand. And if the words are not going to be understood, why should the opera be sung in its original language. But in addition we have the fact that in Vienna it is not the ability to follow every word that is responsible for interest in opera, but rather the interest in opera that induces people to find out from a libretto what they need to know about the business on the stage.

This interest exists here too. The

number of people who are interested is comparatively small; but it is comparatively small in Europe too: the number of people interested in any art anywhere is comparatively small. It is true that many Germans love music; but for most of them this music is not Mozart and Wagner: in Vienna and Berlin opera is attended by the same minority that is interested in the other forms of serious music. And that is true here. I see no reason to believe that giving opera in English would cause the millions who go to the movies to go to the opera: the ones who would go would be—as they are now—the ones who were interested in things of that sort. The battle for opera in this country has been and still is part of the battle to interest people in serious music; because opera is the most difficult and most expensive form of music to give the battle has been fought with the other forms; and I contend that wherever it has been won with, say, orchestral music a potential audience has been created for opera as well, and that the difficulty and expensiveness which have prevented opera from being given in those places have prevented such potential audiences from being converted into actual audiences for opera.

Its expensiveness brings us to another point. Some who contend that opera has not established itself and has no place in this country mean not only that opera has a small public but that it does not pay for itself. But there are artistic activities and institutions—and they include musical activities and institutions—which by their very nature, by the very set-up they involve, cannot pay for themselves. A museum does not pay for itself; does anyone contend for this reason that it ought to be closed? Our symphony orchestras do not pay for themselves; does anyone conclude that symphonic music has no place in this country? Opera does not pay for itself in Vienna; is anyone going to contend that it has not established itself and has no place there? I would say that it has established itself, made a place for itself, acquired an audience in Vienna precisely because it was not expected to pay for itself; whereas in this country, because it is expected to pay its own way, prices have been charged that have made it impossible for many to go who would have liked to go. What opera in this country needs is not English words but low prices. At low prices even the Hippodrome was filled—for performances in foreign languages.

B. H. HAGGIN

## DANCE

"THE Big City" and "The Green Table," two of the finest ballets of the last decade, are now on view at the Maxine Elliott Theater, where the Jooss Ballet is appearing. "The Big City" retains its original freshness; "The Green Table" has largely lost its once powerful appeal. The reasons for this are to be found without rather than within a ballet which had a profound meaning for many people in the years between 1933 and 1938, when its anti-war thesis coincided with the prevailing belief that war was a grim game contrived by old men. But our mood has changed, and what once was eloquent now is blurred.

Since art is a communication, its meaningfulness, conditioned by external factors, varies with time and place. If "The Green Table" fails to stir the emotions it once did, it is not because the ballet has changed but because our world has changed and the ballet has not; and because its form, while sufficient unto the time of its composition, was never sufficiently complex to meet changed attitudes. Certainly its biting caricature of diplomats and profiteers still rings terribly true, but the victims of war are somehow less moving on the stage than in newspaper accounts. When death emerges as the final conqueror, we find ourselves completely at variance with the ballet's basic thesis; its particular disillusionment lies just behind the reality of the present and has not yet been absorbed into the past.

Of the remainder of the repertoire, "The Seven Heroes" and "A Ball in Old Vienna" are enjoyable, "A Spring Tale" is too slim for an over-long thread, and "The Prodigal Son" is a no man's land of unfulfilled expectation.

What is most exciting in the Jooss Ballet is the superb quality of its ensemble dancing. Contrary to orthodox ballet tradition, major dancers often dance minor roles, and each member of the company is a personality within the framework of a subtly blended whole. Individual performance is always part of a continuum in which the usual splendid isolation of the ballerina is non-existent. While the company, which contains three outstanding dancers in Noelle de Mosa, Hans Zullig, and Henry Schwarz, would profit by the addition of a few more first-rate performers, what it has to offer in the field of ensemble dancing is unique.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN



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## Letters to the Editors

### The "Little Fellow's" Side

**Dear Sirs:** My plea to the government is. For God's sake give the little fellow—the farmer and the small manufacturer—a chance to do his stuff for defense. The government calls for more farm production, and we farmers want to give it, but how can we when we cannot get help? On this farm three young men have left us to work on NYA. At WPA headquarters our requests for help have been filed for three months with no results; yet they are putting more men on WPA. Just the other day the State Employment Office told us that it had orders not to register men from WPA because it was so hard for them to get back on WPA after they had had a private job! Our usual farm help is doing carpenter work on cantonments at \$10 a day.

Of the men we hired this summer three have been taken away to serve jail sentences. That sort of help, plus those the NYA hired away from us, plus some Boy Scouts, plus a few men who could not hold any job, was what we had to depend on this summer.

My own son, on whom we necessarily rely greatly, got only a sixty-day deferment, though we asked for six months.

Nor can we get machinery to take the place of men. The OPM prevents that. Even necessary parts and repairs are delayed for weeks or months.

The government wants more chickens, and eggs, and milk products to send to England, but the price of the feed necessary for such production—feed derived from the grains whose planting is restricted—has gone up and up, until there is very little return for our work.

So much for the farmer's side.

We also own a small manufacturing business, which is entirely inactive at present because we cannot get an ounce of metal. We have orders enough on hand to keep fifteen employees busy for a year, and not a wheel turning. We small fellows think that Mr. Knudsen *et al.* are taking good care of their own and letting the devil take the hindmost. Producers of our raw material tell us they have lots of metal on hand "if the government would permit its release."

Our correspondence with OPM illus-

trates the general confusion. On August 4 we wrote asking whether or not we might use aluminum which we had on hand for orders received after priorities went into effect. On August 29, three weeks later, we received a letter saying, "This is to advise you that this section may not permit the use of aluminum for the manufacture of such items as indicated in your letter." Just before receiving this letter, we wrote again requesting a reply to our letter of August 4. On September 18 the OPM wrote us in reply to that reiterated request a letter signed by the same man saying, "You may use aluminum now in your possession for non-defense orders." In other words, first they say we can't, then they say we can. Of course in the meanwhile we have turned down the order.

I am not a chronic belly-acher. I have been a consistent Democrat, have voted for this Administration and supported the WPA, the NYA, and all the other XYZ's when they seemed desirable. Above all, I hope we are good citizens. We want to see Hitler and all he stands for licked to a standstill, and if it means American blood-spilling, we are willing to spill ours. But when we face situations where two and two cannot be made to add up to four, we believe it is time to kick, and kick hard.

All we ask for is a decent regard for *how* we are going to do the things the government wants done; that proper consideration be given to the *means* as well as to the *end*; that we have a government of, by, and for the people rather than government of the people but by the tools of big business and for the General Motors, the Aluminum Company of America, and their kind.

E. M. HAWES

Marietta, Ohio, September 25

### Is This Freedom of Worship?

**Dear Sirs:** I am a Post Office clerk and have been employed in the service for about six years at the Sebring, Florida, office. I am also one of Jehovah's Witnesses and have been active in this work for five years, during which time I was not disturbed either by individuals or by the Post Office Department, even though the postmaster was aware of my activity.

However, recently, because of the distribution of Bible literature which proclaims Jehovah's King and Kingdom in obedience to His commandments, the postal officials have seen fit to bring charges against me, asserting that I am violating Section 56 of Postal Laws and Regulations. The activities of Jehovah's Witnesses are constitutional; it is my right to continue this practice; but for doing so I have been suspended for ninety days without pay and have been threatened that if this practice is not discontinued I shall be dismissed from the service.

Our Protestant forefathers designed the Constitution to give religious freedom to Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and others, but apparently the Post Office Department is trying to exclude certain Protestants by prescribing how they shall not worship God.

NORMAN H. NIXON

Sebring, Fla., September 20

### Consuls and Correspondents

**Dear Sirs:** I must protest against Peter Stevens's article in your issue of September 20. I think he is unfair both to our consular and diplomatic representatives and to the employers of our foreign correspondents.

Not that our representatives abroad are perfect, but it is foolish to blame all for the faults of a few. If Mr. Stevens had stayed longer in Europe and the Near East he would have found, perhaps, how helpful the legations and consulates can be. In the majority of cases the cooperation between correspondents and our diplomats is far closer than he imagines, and to the benefit of both parties. Hardly a day passed during my five years abroad that I did not receive information from one or another of our State Department men or pass on some piece of information to them.

The State Department cannot force a foreign government to permit the stay of an American national within its borders. International law gives it no support in such a matter, and our State Department, thank God, believes in international law. Yet I know from my own experience how often a minister or consul general will intercede personally—officially he can do nothing—for

a man who has been ordered by the authorities to leave.

As to the employers, I know that many of them take pride in the expulsion of their men. I knew in Europe three or four representatives of the *Chicago Daily News* who had had to leave countries in a great hurry, and not one of them had been fired or even reprimanded by the home office. The *New York Times* also has a good record in this respect.

In the matter of our foreign reporting, the American public has not been served as well as it should have been, given the amount of money it pays for its information. But the trouble lies not where Mr. Stevens places it. It lies in the practice of our newspapers of changing men around, in their fear of experts, in the concept of "stories" which rules newspaper offices, and, let us admit it, in the ignorance of many of our correspondents, ignorance due, no doubt, to the first two points.

ALBERT VITON

Evanston, Ill., September 20

## An Undefined Frontier

*Dear Sirs:* In your leading editorial of September 13 you say: "*The Nation* has a complicated task to perform in the months to come. It will continue to support every aggressive, intelligent move against the armed power of the dictators; and at the same time it will attack the tendencies in our own country which stand in the way of a truly democratic victory."

The complexity of the task is increased by the fact that anti-democratic tendencies are not confined to our own country, and that in our fatally unified world it is impossible to set frontiers to our concerns and responsibilities. In the same issue of *The Nation* you take cognizance of the Russian decree of deportation to Siberia for some 390,000 of its nationals of German descent, note that it "is bound to cause great suffering," and then add that "in view of the way in which the Nazis have used German colonies . . . the Soviet government can hardly be blamed for taking strong measures."

Permit me, with the freedom of an old friend, to tell you that this comment is not adequate. The decree is a monstrous outrage on humanity. Were Russia ten times our ally, we would have no right to shut our eyes and our lips to the truth.

I am conscious of the dangers of ex-

tending one's fighting front beyond a reasonable reach. But on the whole they seem to me less than those of arbitrarily limiting it.

CHARLOTTE ISABEL CLAFLIN

Buffalo, N. Y., September 22

## Newspaper Boy Day

*Dear Sirs:* I note that October 4 has been designated as "Newspaper Boy Day" by the International Circulation Managers' Association, which urges papers throughout the country "to publicize the many activities carried on for the benefit of their carrier salesmen."

Such a celebration seems somewhat ironical, for in several states the newspapers have just completed drives to break down all protection for newsboys: (1) The Indiana child-labor law was amended to exclude newsboy carriers from all provisions—minimum age, hours, night work, and requirement of a physical examination; (2) the passage of a street-trades bill in Michigan, where there is no state regulation, seems to have been effectively blocked; (3) a California bill nullifying the present permit system and permitting ten-year-old boys to work on the streets until 10 p.m. was passed but vetoed by the Governor; (4) a Connecticut bill permitting boys to work on the streets without securing employment certificates fortunately was shelved.

The real celebration of "Newspaper Boy Day" should come when the newsboys throughout the country are protected by legal regulations.

COURTENAY DINWIDDIE,

General Secretary,

National Child Labor Committee  
New York, September 25

## Defense Against Poverty

*Dear Sirs:* We are today spending billions for defense as though they were pennies. I approve of this spending most heartily. It is not, as many are saying, going to bankrupt this nation. I remember quite well the days not so long ago when the President had almost to get down on his hands and knees and beg Congress for continued appropriations with which to fight poverty and unemployment. The danger of bankruptcy was pointed to over and over again to frighten all against the continued spending of billions for relief. Such extravagance, it was said, would mortgage the birthright of the next seventy-five unborn generations.

Now that Congress has discovered how much it can spend and tax and spend, I am hopeful that this knowledge will abide long after war spending has stopped. For there is another defense which must be whole-heartedly considered after the nation returns to a peacetime basis. It is the defense of the poor. Few men, other than the poor, think of the poor. I know of no better way to extend democracy than for Congress, after the war is over, to consider the poor of this nation. With our money we hope that the democracies of Europe will destroy Hitlerism in Europe. With our money let us destroy within our own borders poverty and all of its attendant miseries.

HARRY DANIELS

Washington, September 26

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### INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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